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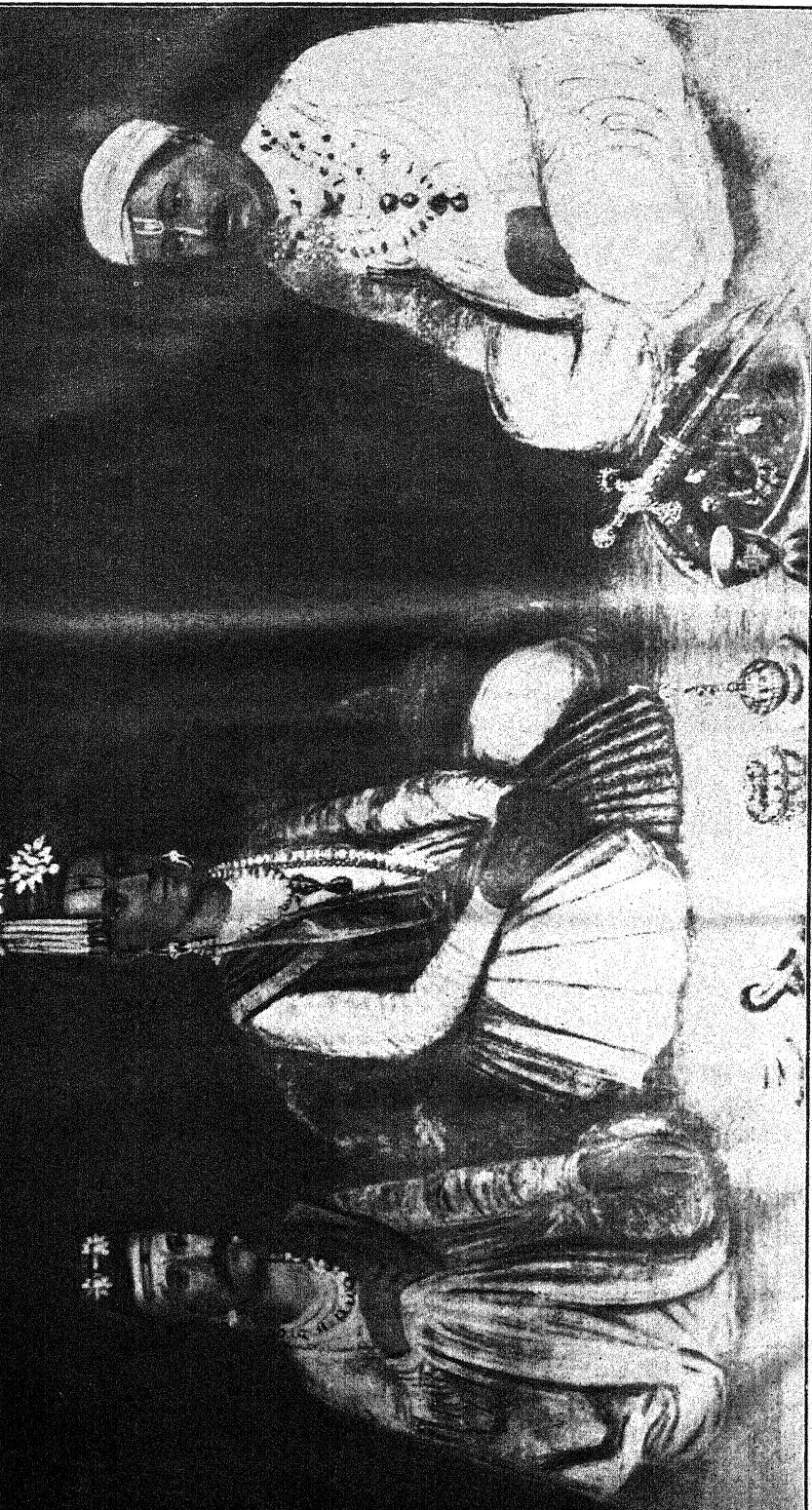
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NANA FARNAVIS
Minister
1763—1800

MADHAV RAO
Peshwa
1774—1795

MAHADJI SINDIA
1769—1794

Reproduced from a painting in Government House, Ganeshkhind, with the kind permission of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.
See page 130.

Proceedings of the Seventh Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Poona on 12th & 13th January 1925.

The seventh meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Council Hall, Poona, on the 12th of January 1925. An Exhibition of documents, paintings, maps, plans, coins and other objects of historical interest obtained from the Government archives, public institutions and private individuals was also held in connection with the meeting. In the unavoidable absence of Mr. J. W. Bhore, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., the *ex-officio* President, Sir Evan Cotton, Kt., C.I.E., President of the Bengal Legislative Council and a member of the Commission, was voted to the Chair. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul 'Ali (Secretary), in proposing Sir Evan to the Chair, congratulated him on behalf of the meeting on the Knighthood which had recently been conferred upon him by the King-Emperor. The proceedings were opened at 11 A.M. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. A large number of ladies also attended the function. Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, M.A., C. B. E., and Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S., two of the members of the Commission, were unavoidably absent.

The following members were present:—

1. The Hon'ble Sir Evan Cotton, Kt., C.I.E., President, Bengal Legislative Council.
2. Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S. (Bihar and Orissa).
3. Mr. B. K. Thakore, B.A. (Retired Professor of History, Deccan College, Poona).
4. Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., Deputy Political Secretary to the Government of Bengal (attended the meeting in place of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal).
5. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (Secretary).

The following co-opted members were also present:—

1. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Decan College (Local Secretary for the Poona Session of the Commission).
2. Mr. M. S. Commissariat, Professor of History, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

3. Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A., New Poona College, Poona.
4. Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnus (Satara).
5. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, M.L.C., Poona.
6. Dr. H. Mann, Director of Agriculture, Poona.
7. Mr. J. F. Gennings, Bar-at-law, Director of Information, Bombay.
8. Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E. (Calcutta).
9. Mr. G. S. Sardesai (Baroda).
10. Mr. R. K. Ranadive (Baroda).
11. Mr. J. M. Mehta (Baroda).
12. Mr. N. V. Phadke (Indore).
13. Mr. T. B. Gogate (Indore).
14. Mr. R. A. Prabhavalkar (Kolhapur).
15. Mr. F. B. P. Lory, I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
16. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. (Madras).

Monsieur A. Singaravelu Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry, attended the meeting as the representative of the French Government in India.

On taking the Chair Sir Evan thanked the gathering for their congratulations and for choosing him as their Chairman, and called upon the Hon'ble Mr. Bhaskarav Jadhav, Minister of Education, Bombay, to read the message of welcome to the Commission from His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson, Governor of Bombay.

Message of welcome from His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Mr. President, Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and Gentlemen,

In welcoming you to-day to the capital of Maharashtra permit me first to express my great appreciation of the honour you have done to the Bombay Residency in selecting it for the second time as a meeting place for your deliberations, and my personal regret that I am not able to come to Poona owing to very numerous and important engagements in Bombay.

2. The speech of my predecessor Sir George Lloyd, welcoming the members of the Commission on the occasion of their visit to Bombay in January 1921, gives a brief account of the measures taken up to that time by the Government of Bombay to arrange and classify the various kinds of historical records in their keeping, and to make them accessible to the public.

In the field of historical research Bombay Presidency has a long roll of names, of which it has reason to be proud. The mere mention of these names is sufficient to recall to your minds the variety and scope of their achievements—

Grant-Duff (History of the Marathas).

Forbes (Ras Mala).

Campbell (Bombay Gazetteer).

Bhandarkar.

Fleet.

Bhagwanlal Indraji.

Ranade.

Parasnus.

Rajwade.

Sardesai.

The great revival of interest in the Maratha period of Indian History, which has been a feature of the last quarter of a century, has concentrated the attention of learned societies and of individual scholars, both European and Indian, on the original Marathi records of the Peshwas' administration which are now housed in the Alienation Office at Poona. A general description of these records, which have been examined from time to time by competent Marathi scholars, will be found in Mr. Kindersley's Handbook, which was published just after the meeting of your Commission in 1921.

3. At this meeting you passed the following resolution :—“ The Commission strongly urges upon the Government of Bombay the importance of the scientific investigation of the contents of the Peshwa's Daftar, Peona, and recommends that the collection should be handlisted by competent scholars without further delay so that scientific students of Indian History during the 18th century may begin to utilise the collection without waiting for the records being calendared.” The Government of Bombay gave the matter their very careful consideration and came to the conclusion that what was required was not a handlist (as you requested) but a handbook, and that it would cost about Rs. 12,000 a year for 20 years to prepare such a book. In view of the great expense involved, and having regard to the fact that, in the opinion of Rao Bahadur Parasnus, and of Mr. Logan, the Commissioner, C.D., in 1905, there was no *original political correspondence* of the Peshwas and their ministers to be found amongst the records in the Poona Daftar, Government regretted that they could not entertain this particular proposal. The conclusions arrived at by these two gentlemen have been fully dealt with by Professor H. G. Rawlinson, Principal, Deccan College, in the paper which he will read to you at this Conference.

On the other hand Government recognised that amongst the thousands of administrative records there was likely to be a great deal of material which would be of interest and value to students of the administrative, social and economic history of the Marathas, and that if the idea (originally suggested by Professor Thakore in 1919) of compiling a "Source Book of Maratha History" took shape, such a work would be incomplete if its compilers could not have access to these documents.

With this end in view Government appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Professor H. G. Rawlinson, Principal of the Deccan College, consisting of the following gentlemen :—

1. Prof. B. K. Thakore, late Professor of History, Deccan College.
2. Prof. D. V. Potdar, representing Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal.
3. Prof. G. S. Sardesai of Baroda.
4. Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnus of Satara.

To this Committee the name of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar of Patna College subsequently added. I think, gentlemen, you will agree that it is a strong representative Committee. They held their first meeting in August last, laid down the general outlines of the work, which, it was calculated, would be 5 or 6 volumes of 400 pages each, and I am happy to be able to inform that Government have now authorised the Committee to take in hand the preparation of Volume I and have placed funds at the disposal of the Chair for immediate expenditure on clerical and other work.

This Committee reiterated your request that the Government of Bombay should appoint a competent officer to investigate and report on the Poona Daftars. In this connection I can merely say that any concrete proposals which the present meeting of the Commission may make will be carefully considered by Government, particularly if it can be shown that such an officer should not be required for any great length of time.

If the expenditure in this connection can be kept within reasonable limits you may rest assured that Government will do all it can, while keeping a stern watch fixed on the public purse, to spare a benignant glance in the direction of the Poona Daftars, to honour whom you are assembled here to-day.

Reply of the Hon'ble Sir Evan Cotton.

The Chairman said he wished to thank His Excellency for giving them a warm welcome to the Bombay Presidency. The members of the Commission felt highly honoured at having received such a helpful and encouraging message. They had also to thank him for his promise to give the most careful consideration to any concrete proposal that might be put forward for dealing with the Poona Daftars and its records. A visit to Poona was in itself

an education and an inspiration. As the ancient capital of Maharashtra it was full of valuable historical material, and in addition it was the present home of learning on this side of India. The Session was therefore being held in one of the most famous centres of historical research.

A number of papers were then read. The meeting lasted till 4-30 P.M. During the interval the members of the Commission were entertained at a luncheon by the Secretary.

The Exhibition which was organised in connection with the Poona Session was most successful. Among the exhibits were a set of ancient weapons, sent by the Chief of Sangli, which included a rifle eleven feet long and a gold and ivory pistol of historical interest. A number of paintings, manuscripts and letters from Rao Bahadur Parasnus' magnificent collection at Satara were on view. Valuable *Sanads*, *Firmans* and manuscripts were lent from the collections of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, the Poona Itihasa Mandal, and several private collections. The group portrait by James Wales of the Peshwa Madhavrao with his Prime Minister Nana Farnavis on one side and General Mahadji Sindia on the other, kindly lent by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, attracted much attention. Monsieur Singaravelu Pillai, Curator, French Historical Records, attended the Commission, as the representative of the French Government in India, and enriched the Exhibition by a most valuable collection of French documents relating to the Mahratta period. The exhibits from the Imperial Record Department, and some private collections from Calcutta were highly appreciated.

On the 13th January the Commission, at the members' meeting, discussed various important matters relating to the preservation, classification and publication of Indian Historical Records. In the afternoon the members paid a visit to the Peshwas' Daftar, the Bhandarkar Research Institute and the Bharat Itihasa Mandal.

On the 14th January several of the members of the Commission paid a visit to the Historical Museum of Rao Bahadur Parasnus at Satara, as his guests. The Museum, which consists of paintings, manuscripts and engravings of exceptional historical value, is undoubtedly one of the finest in India. The Commission also inspected the new building which the Government of Bombay has built at a cost of several lakhs of rupees, to house the collection. In the evening the visitors were entertained by the Committee of the Union Club of Satara, and at the request of the members, Professor Jadunath Sarkar delivered an illuminating lecture on the sources of Mahratta History. Next morning, the Palaces at Satara and the hill-fort which has been the scene of many a stirring incident in the history of the Deccan were visited. The Commission spent two most enjoyable days at Satara, but it was felt that the time at the disposal of the visitors was far too short for doing full justice to the splendid collection of Rao Bahadur Parasnus and the various places of interest in the historic city of Satara.

"The Four Gentlemen from Madras."

An Episode of Lord Clive's Second Administration of Bengal.

(By the Hon'ble Sir Evan Cotton, K.T., C.I.E.)

Among the papers preserved at the India Office (Home Miscellaneous 198) is a Diary kept by Colonel Alexander Champion, of the Hon'ble Company's Service, in the days of Clive. As a Captain, Champion was indeed at the storming of Patna by Major Thomas Adams on November 1763; and as a Major he was in command of the right wing of Hector Munro's army at the battle of Buxar on October 23, 1764. But his chief claim to remembrance rests on his connexion with the first Rohilla war.

On February 14, 1774, being then in command of a brigade at Dinapore, Champion was appointed provisional commander-in-chief in succession to

Robert Barker, who had resigned the service, and ordered to assume command of the expedition of which the object was to co-operate with the forces of Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, in "the reduction of the Rohilla country lying between the Ganges and the mountains." All political matters were, however, left under the control of Nathaniel Middleton, the Resident at Lucknow. Champion was gravely dissatisfied with this decision and also with the refusal of Hastings to grant him the rank of Brigadier-General. He therefore took over the command with feelings far from cordial towards the Governor-General and the Nawab Wazir. His despatches pretty began to give vehement expression to his indignation at the atrocities committed by Shuja-ud-daula and his troops, which he and his soldiers were called to witness. These charges he repeated at a later date when the first Rohilla war was under enquiry in the House of Commons: and a sturdy stand has been grafted upon them. But Sir John Strachey has pointed out his first pre-occupation, when the campaign had been concluded with the death and death of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the Rohilla chief, on April 23, 1774, is to protest against the action of Hastings in excluding the Company's troops from a share in the booty acquired by Shuja-ud-daula. Champion, indeed, is privately accused by Francis of having accepted a bribe from the Rohillas to protect them, and of having taken an immense fortune to England with him: but "unsupported statements by Francis deserve no credence".¹

With regard to the alleged outrages, a Council minute by Hastings, dated January 10, 1775, is printed in Forrest's Selections from State Papers 1772-1785: Calcutta 1890, vol. I, p. 180) in which he says that "the principle which dictated to Colonel Champion the severe charges with which he has laboured to load the Vizier in the late campaign, was either personal animosity or the desire of persuading the Board to grant him the power which he repeatedly solicited to control and in effect to command the Vizier."

¹ Strachey: Hastings and the Rohilla War, p. 163, note.

He quotes from a letter written by Champion to Henry Vansittart on June 20, 1764, in which he admits that in earlier operations against the Rohillas, "according to directions given by me there are destroyed upwards of a thousand villages."

The whole story has been examined in detail by Sir John Strachey: and it is difficult to avoid agreement with the verdict of Forrest, which he quotes with approval². "The Rohilla atrocities owe their birth to the malignity of Champion and Francis: their growth to the rhetoric of Burke: and their wide diffusion to the brilliancy and pellucid clearness of Macaulay's style." The only defect Strachey finds in "this perfectly just judgment" is that "in pronouncing it Mr. Forrest has forgotten the History of James Mill."

Champion resigned the service on October 29, 1774, and retired to Bath where he lived for many years. It is noteworthy that when he was examined before the House of Commons on May 3, 1786, he "begged to observe that near twelve years have elapsed since that period (of the Rohilla War) in the course of which time not one year has passed in which I have not been confined to my bed eight months; in consequence of which I find my memory much weakened."

The extracts from Champion's Diary which we are about to quote relate to an earlier period of his career and are concerned with a little known episode of Clive's second administration of Bengal (May, 1765 to January, 1767):

1766. Jan. 8 and 9.—Received advice of 4 gentlemen on their passage from Madrass with the intention of being received on this Establishment as Councillors.

Jan. 10 and 12. —The whole set of civilians here seem greatly discontented at his Lordship's treatment in calling these 4 Servants from Madrass, and will remonstrate to the Company at home. Although it is an urgent proceeding and an arbitrary and violent act, yet I do not pity them, as they had no little pity in my case.

Jan. 13.—His Lordship invited many civilians but none would accept of his invitation.

Jan. 15.—Dined at General Carnac's, where no civilian was present.

Jan. 16 to 21.—For some days past my time has been chiefly spent with General Carnac at Chitpore, Dum-Dum, etc. Mr. Majendie³ was

² Strachey, op. cit. p. 233.

³ William Majendie was Secretary to the Council at the time, and as he had been appointed Sheriff of Calcutta in December 1765, was serving that office also. He was subsequently reinstated by the Court of Directors and was Second at Patna when he died there in 1769 at the age of 26. His tombstone in the Bankipore old cemetery records that he was "A man who to every Amiable Disposition joined nice Honor and strict Integrity: and was Possess'd of such Abilities as might adorn any Station of Life."

suspended the Service by the Board for not giving them information of the Remonstrance which the Company's Servants have signed. At present there is great confusion in the Settlement and many scurrilous letters passing to and from the Board.

Feb. 6.—Left town for Europe the following Gentlemen, Hardwicke, Wederburn, Sutherland, G. Gray, Leycester and Mrs. Leycester. The latter of these Gentlemen⁴ paid no compliments to his Lordship or any other of the Select Committee on parting from Town, except Mr. Sumner who has decented (sic) from his Lordship's opinion in almost every case: On which account they are taking every opportunity for a cause against Him, and Mr. Sumner on all public occasions is treated with great disrespect and ill manners, so much does party prevail.

Some accounts have this day come of the 4 gentlemen from Madrass being in the River. George Gray was yesterday obliged to file Bail for 10,000 to his Banyan, who is now confined by Lord Clive and by him was compelled to this act to throw a greater odium on Mr. Gray—a shameful and mean revenge.

The inner history of these events may thus be told. On April 30, 1764, Clive (while still in London) was sworn in for the second time as President

⁴ Ralph Leycester arrived in Bengal on June 7, 1754, and was assistant in the Import warehouse in 1756. He escaped to the ships during the siege of Calcutta, and went to Europe in 1759. He married Charlotte Lushington (sister of Henry Lushington who survived the Black Hole and was murdered at Patna) on November 22, 1762. In 1763 he was Chief at Dacca, when the factory was attacked and captured by a party of sannyasis. He was charged with unnecessary abandonment of the factory and defended himself (consultation, February 16, 1764) by saying that "while he was in the Factory expecting to hear that Boats were come to the Ghat sufficient to secure the Treasure and remainder of the Garrison, all the Seapoys in a body left the Factory without any orders . . . putting out of the power of the Gentlemen to conduct the affair in the manner that had been ally proposed." At a later date Clive sarcastically noted (Consultation, January 29, '66) as follows:—

The very extraordinary assertion of Mr. Leycester that he believed, when I stepped out of Council one day to dispatch a note, I was going to send for a military guard in order to intimidate him, I should have attributed to the worst of causes, were I not well acquainted with his uncommon timidity, and the great weakness of his nerves. That Gentleman's behaviour at Dacca, when he abandoned the Factory, which commanded a considerable proportion of the Company's treasure and merchandise, would in all probability have lost him the service, if General Carnac had not prevailed upon Mr. Vansittart [Governor at the time] to let him soften the paragraph written upon that subject in the General Letter [to the Court]. For further particulars I refer the world to old Mr. Delaporte who very quietly smoked his pipe in the Factory an hour and a half after Mr. Leycester had forsaken it; and then found leisure to carry off all his own effects, without molestation from the enemy, who proved to be no other than a rabble of Fakirs.

Hastings was also troubled by these fakirs. A complaint was made in 1763 to Calcutta the Dacca Council of the uses to which sepoys were put by the agents employed by Hastings for the purpose of private trade in timber. In reply Hastings recorded the following note: "Some time ago a large body of Fakirs infesting the country about Dacca surrounded Mr. Kelly, my agent, and put him in great danger of his life. For this reason I requested the Governor to send a few people to his rescue. The Fakirs have since quitted the country."

of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces stationed in that Presidency. He had desired that he should be invested with power to over-rule his Council; but the Directors demurred and a compromise was arrived at by which Clive was empowered to nominate a Select Committee of four persons—Mr. William Brightwell Sumner, Brigadier-General John Carnac, Mr. Henry Verelst and Mr. Francis Sykes—to act with him as President "in order to restore peace and tranquility in Bengal" and "when it can conveniently be done, they are to consult the Council at large."

Of these four, Sumner arrived in India on November 25, 1744. He was second at Dacca in 1756: but was on leave at Calcutta just before the siege and was appointed an Ensign in the Militia. He was among those who took refuge at Fulta and after the recapture of Calcutta was appointed Sub-Export Warehouse Keeper. On his return to Bengal with Clive he organised the salt, tobacco and betel-nut monopoly which supplied much fruitful subject for controversy. In August, 1766, he resigned his seat on the Select Committee and returned to Europe.

Verelst succeeded Clive in January, 1767, as Governor of Fort William and held the office until December, 1769. He came out on July 16, 1749 and was third at Jugdea at the time of the "Troubles." From 1760 to 1765 he was Chief at Chittagong. On his return to England he became a Director of the Company for one year (1771), and died at Boulogne on October 24, 1785.

Sykes was nineteen years of age when he landed in Bengal in 1751 and was attached to the factory at Cossimbazar in 1756 when he was taken to Moorshedabad with William Watts and escaped with him. He resigned the service in 1760 and took home with him the infant son of Warren Hastings by his first wife. According to G. F. Grand, he found his way into Parliament as member (by purchase) for a Cornish borough. His seat was, no doubt, bought: but his constituencies were, first, Shaftesbury, and subsequently, during five Parliaments, Wallingford. He was created a baronet in 1781 and died on January 11, 1804, at the age of seventy-two. The baronetcy still survives.

Carnac, like Eyre Coote, Francis Forde, the victor of Biderra, and Thomas Adams, the hero of Oodwanullah, began his career in Adlercron's regiment, afterwards the 39th Foot and now the 1st battalion of the Dorset Regiment ("Primus in Indis" among the King's regiments). He entered the Company's service as a Captain in 1758, and in 1760 was in command at Patna. In 1761, he defeated the Emperor near Behar and took prisoner M. Jean Law, the French leader, with his men. Three years later, in April, 1764, he beat off the Nawab Wazir Shuja-ud-daula's attack on Patna, and became a Brigadier-General. In 1765, he defeated the Maharattas in the Doab. Returning to England with Clive, he entered the House of Commons in 1767 as member

or Leominster. In 1776, he came back to India as a Member of the Bombay Council and in 1779, was dismissed the service of the Company for his share in the convention of Wargaum. He died at Mangalore while on a sea voyage on November 9, 1800, at the age of 84.

The " peace and tranquility " which it was to be Clive's endeavour to restore in Bengal was not easily obtained. Upon taking over the administration, which he did on May 3, 1765, he found, says Forrest (Vol. II, p. 308), that many junior civilians were holding important offices owing to the fact that their seniors had retired to England with fortunes rapidly acquired. Writing to the Court of Directors on March 24, 1766, he gives details :

" The business of the Secretary's department was committed to a youth of three years' standing ; the employment of accomptant is now discharged by a writer still lower in the list ; the important trusts of Military Storekeeper, Naval Storekeeper, and Storekeeper of the Works, were bestowed, when last vacant, upon writers ; and a writer held the post of Paymaster to the Army, at a time when near 20 lacs of rupees had been deposited for months together in his hands ; Banians became principals in the several departments ; the affairs of the Company flowed through a new and unnatural channel ; and your most secret concerns were publicly known in the Bazar."

Three vacancies had occurred in Council ; but Clive refused to fill them on the ground of seniority. In a despatch of September 30, 1765, he had already begged of his Hon'ble Masters " that no other distinction be admitted, except what is due to ability, to integrity, and to faithful essential service." Presently two other vacancies were caused. Mr. George Gray resigned,⁵ and Mr. Ralph Leycester was suspended for the indiscreet publication of an expression used by him at the Board. It became impossible to carry on ; and Clive determined to apply to Fort Saint George for the services of four civil servants belonging to that Presidency, in order that he might appoint them Members of Council at Fort William.

On November 5, 1765, the following letter was despatched to Fort Saint George :—

To the Honourable Robert Palk, Esq., President and Governor, etc., Council, at Fort Saint George.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The measures we are pursuing in order to accomplish the ends proposed by the Court of Directors, and secure to the Company the great revenues they now possess in Bengal, are so contrary to the expectations the views and interests of many of their servants placed

⁵ Gray wrote officially to Lord Clive that his language was " more fit for the meridian of Grub Street or Billingsgate than for the records of the Hon'ble Board " !

in the highest stations, and intrusted with the most weighty employments of this Presidency, that they have thought proper to resign service. The opulent fortunes they have acquired, and the steps we are taking to prevent so sudden a growth of wealth at the expense of the Company and the national character, will sufficiently declare the nature of their conduct and ours.

Notwithstanding we have found it expedient to reduce the number of the board from sixteen to twelve members, yet three seats are already vacant, and Mr. Senior has expressed his full intention of returning home this season. It is with regret we observe that these vacancies cannot be filled by the junior servants next in succession: the corruption that prevailed in the Government has descended to the lower classes, and a Council composed of these would frustrate every attempt to effect that general reformation so essential to the success and permanency of the measures proposed by our constituents.

We therefore earnestly request that, in consideration of the pressing exigency of our affairs, we may be favoured with the immediate assistance of Messrs. Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Ffoyer. These gentlemen are senior to any on the list of our covenanted servants below the rank of Council, and we cannot entertain a doubt but their removal will be approved by the Court of Directors, when we have represented the reasons upon which this request is founded.

You, Gentlemen, are equally sensible with us of the importance of this settlement to the Company, and no less sollicitious for its prosperity, which depends so much upon the judicious selection of a board. It is, therefore, our further desire that Messrs. Russell and the other Gentlemen may proceed with all possible dispatch overland, as the season of the year would render a passage tedious; and we are now forming plans for the collection of the revenues, which will oblige several members of the board to be absent from the Presidency.

We are,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient,

Humble servants,

CLIVE.

W. B. SUMNER.

JOHN CARNAC.

H. VERELST.

Although Sumner signed the letter, he recorded a minute of dissent. His grounds were two: firstly, that "we have no authority for transferring the servants of another Presidency to this" and secondly, that "as we have already presented to the Court of Directors what was then esteemed necessary on the point of succession to Councils, we ought to wait for their orders."

On January 20, 1766, Clive presided at a meeting of the Select Committee, at which Sumner, Carnac, Verelst, and Sykes, were present: and opened the business with a Minute. Therein he recalled that "at our last meeting we had the satisfaction of reading the assent of the President and Council of Madrass to our request for the assistance of Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall, and Ffoyer till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known;" and he proceeded:

The arrival of these gentlemen is an Event ardently to be wished by every man who regards the welfare of the Company and more particularly by us, who are the guardians of their inestimable possessions in Bengal. For my part, I am determined to continue with perseverance, as I began with resolution and disinterestedness, to effect a thorough reformation. The negligences, the abuses, I must add, the frauds, which have too apparently crept into every department: the absolute necessity of correcting these: the incapacity, either from understanding and principle, of some who rank near to the Council, and the unfitness, from youth and inexperience, of others who are endued with abilities and integrities, to assist us in our labours: the impossibility of conducting the business ourselves, since our absence at times from the Presidency or our attendance to other matters of great importance, must frequently divide our attention: Mr. Verelst employed in supervising the Burdwan and Midnapore provinces; Mr. Sykes ascertaining the whole collection of the Government revenues: and myself obliged to be often up the country: for these among other substantial reasons, we earnestly requested the assistance of the Gentlemen from Madrass. If we are desirous of saving the settlement from destruction, we must have a supply of disinterestedness, resolution, and abilities, from our neighbours. Such a Government as this is not to be trifled with. The commerce and immense revenues of the three provinces shall not be sacrificed in order to gratify the rapacity or vanity of individuals. Enough has been said, enough has been seen, of the general depravity of this place.

His Lordship went on to say that "in consequence of our requesting the assistance of the Madrass Gentlemen, a memorial has been drawn up by some Gentlemen here, addressed to the Court of Directors, representing the injury and disgrace they suffer by such a proceeding of the Select Committee."

The original document he had not seen: but a copy had been sent to him which he begged leave to lay before the Committee for their further

information. He had, he said, authentic intelligence that "at the head of the subscription are the names of two Counsellors: the one under a severe censure of the Committee and whose whole management of the Company's investment is under scrutiny, and the other ordered down from his chiefship, that his conduct may be enquired into."⁶ The other signatories he described sarcastically as "ingenious young Gentlemen, who at the age of eighteen or twenty, presume themselves qualified to fill the station of Counsellors." At the same meeting were read, and entered on the proceedings, certain extracts from "letters of intelligence" addressed to Clive himself and his Secretary, Henry Strachey. On January 11, 1766, it was reported to Clive that a meeting had been held at "Mr. Vansittart's country house" wherein "it was resolved that memorial should be forthwith drawn up against the unprecedented and injurious step of sending for Counsellors to this Presidency from Madrass: that those Gentlemen should on their arrival be treated with insolence and contempt: and that any person belonging to this Settlement who should presume to show them the least civility or countenance, should be branded with ignominy and banished society." The "most active in the affair" were said to be Mr. (Thomas) French, Mr. (George) Vansittart, Mr. (William) Majendie, the Secretary to the Council, and the "Traders and senior writers." On the same day Strachey is informed that Mr. (Randolph) Marriot and Mr. (Ascanius William) Senior are "principals in the affair." The day following news came to Strachey that "a resolution is taken by the servants invited to dine with his Lordship to-morrow, not to wait on him or to accept any invitation for the future."

⁶ Charles Stafford Playdell Export Warehouse Keeper and Collector of Calcutta and Randolph Marriot, chief at Benares. Playdell had a long Indian career. He came out to Bengal in 1744 and Second at Jugdea at the time of Siraj-ud-daula's attack on Calcutta, when he took refuge at Fulta. In 1761 the Court of Directors ordered him to be dismissed together with others who had signed their names to a protest by Clive against the treatment of Bengal Servant by the Board: but the order does not appear to have been executed. According to William Bolts' "Considerations" he took a "refreshment" of Rs. one lakh and 1666 on the accession of Nujum-ud-daula the second son of Mir Jafar to the musnud of Murshidabad on 3 February, 1765. John Johnstone the head of the mission received Rs. 2 laks and 37,000: and others were similarly "gratified." Legal proceedings were commenced to enforce a refund of these presents but were dropped by order of the Court of Directors. In January 1768 Playdell asked for a passage to Europe in the *Earl of Elgin* but was back in Calcutta in September 1771 when he became Superintendent of Police, Master in Chancery and Member of the Board of Trade. The inscription upon his grave in the South Park Street cemetery records that he died on May 27, 1779, when holding these offices. His first wife Elizabeth whom he married on February 25, 1759, was a daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell. Her sister Anna married on March 31, 1759, William Rider who was sheriff of Calcutta in 1757 and was mortally wounded at the battle of Biderra when she married Ensign Martin Yorke (July 15, 1760). Of Randolph Marriot some particulars will be found on a later page.

Was this the three-storeyed building at Baraset, now used as a sub-jail, but still known as Vansittart Villa? George Vansittart was the younger brother of Henry (Governor of Fort William from July 27, 1760 to November, 1764). He came out to Bengal as a writer in 1761, sat in the House of Commons as member for Berkshire from 1784 to 1812, and died in 1825. There is a reference to him in the Farington Diary (September 29, 1804). In 1761 he obtained a grant of 362 bighas of land in Dhee Birjee—the block bounded by Middleton Street, Short Street, Chowringhee and Circular Road—at a yearly rent of Rs. 789, redeemable at fifteen years' purchase.

The "bill of grievances" to which Clive refers was addressed to the Hon'ble Court and was in the following terms:—

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.

May it please your Honours,

When your servants in any instance think themselves aggrieved, you have been pleased to favour them with the indulgence of an application for redress immediately to yourselves, through the channel of your President and Council. No occasion could more urgently call for the disagreeable necessity of claiming this privilege than the situation wherein we find ourselves by a circumstance from which we think we have received a most unmerited and mortifying injury and disgrace.

Various letters from Madrass inform us, that the Select Committee here have invited Messrs. Claud Russel, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Ffoyer of the place, to succeed to seats in Council upon this establishment, and that these gentlemen are accordingly on their way hither. Were we conscious of having neglected our duty, or behaved unfaithfully in the trust reposed on us, we should submit with patience and look upon such severity to be justly inflicted; but satisfied as we are of our innocence, we are struck with amazement, and utterly at a loss how to account for such a proceeding.

As to the abilities of these gentlemen, we cannot but flatter ourselves, that many may be found on this establishment in no respect inferior to them: and as to the Company's business and interests in Bengal, we must in that point be superior to them.

If our integrity be called in question, it is certainly a most cruel act, thus to stigmatise a whole settlement unheard; such a procedure could not fail to damp our zeal for your service and made our duty a burthen to us, had we not an entire conviction of obtaining redress from your impartiality and justice.

In the seventeenth paragraph of your commands of the 19th February, 1762, you were pleased to give us reason to hope, that your servants here should rise in regular succession, and not have the mortification of being superseded but when cases of an absolute necessity should force you to a deviation. These flattering hopes, from you, our masters, must undoubtedly add weight to the sense we entertain of the injury done us upon this occasion by our fellow-servants, whom we never understood to be appointed judges of such a necessity or invested with authority to make any appointments upon your civil list: and this step from the present Committee is the more affectingly

striking; as Lord Clive in his letter of 27th April, 1764, has the following sentence:—

“ The heart-burning disputes which seem to have spread and over-run your settlement at Calcutta arose, I much fear, from your appointment of Mr. [Henry] Vansittart to the Government of Bengal [in November, 1759] from another settlement [Madras], although his promotion was the effect of my recommendation. The appointment thereof of Mr. [John] Spencer from Bombay can only tend to inflame these dissensions, and to destroy all those advantages which the Company can only expect to reap from harmony, and unanimity among their servants abroad.”

We wish ever to preserve that respect which is due to our superiors in the service: and we hope it will appear to you, and that we should be men unworthy of your service, if we did not express our deep sense of the injustice which we have suffered. To you we submit our cause, not doubting but you will redress our grievances. This will be adding to the obligations already received from you: and we beg leave to assure you, we shall ever retain a faithful sense of it, and ever serve you with zeal and fidelity.

The Gentlemen of the Council who have set their hands to this address, altho' not immediately affected by the measure which has been taken, have done it as a testimony of their sense of the unjust reflection cast upon your servants in general, on his establishment: and the gentlemen to whose names an asterisk is prefixed being absent from the settlement, and at too great a distance to have the original circulated to them before the dispatch of the ships, could not sign it themselves but having received copies thereof, have approved it, and desired their names to be subscribed.

We are with the utmost respect,
Your most faithful, obedient, and
most devoted humble servants.

The remonstrance was signed by ninety civil servants on the Bengal Establishment.

The reference to Mr. Spencer was a shrewd thrust. On April 19, 1761, Clive had had an interview with the Court of Directors at their request. Mr. Spencer, a Bombay Civilian, had been appointed second in Council at Fort William with succession to the Governorship, and Clive declared that he could not proceed to Calcutta unless the appointment was cancelled, “ as it will lead to the resignation of several of the Bengal Council.” On April 27, he had another interview, and the Court on that date cancelled Mr. Spencer's nomination to Bengal and reappointed him to Bombay.

In a dispatch to the Court, dated January 31, 1766, Clive gives the following version of what took place:

The young gentlemen of the settlement had set themselves up for judges of the propriety of our conduct and the degree of their own merit; each would think himself qualified to transact your weighty affairs in Council, at an age when the Laws of his country adjudge him unfit to manage his own concerns to the extent of forty shillings. They have not only set their hands to a memorial of complaint but have entered into associations unbecoming at their years, and destructive of that subordination without which no government can stand—all visits to the President are forbidden—all invitations from him and members of the Select Committee are to be slighted. The gentlemen called down by our authority from Madras are to be treated with neglect and contempt. Every man who deviates from this confederacy is to be stigmatized and avoided. In a word, the members are totally to separate themselves from the head, decorum and union are to be set at defiance, and it becomes a fair struggle whether we or the young gentlemen shall in future guide the helm of government. Look at their names, examine their standing, enquire into their services, and reflect upon the age of four-fifths of the subscribers to this bill of grievances, who now support the association, and you will be equally surprised with us at the presumptuous intemperance of youth, and convinced that a stop of three or four years in the course of promotion is indispensably (sic) necessary, if you would have your Council composed of men of experience and discretion.

In a letter written to his wife on the same day (January 31, 1766), Clive alludes to the step he had taken and to the agitation which it provoked:

My whole time is taken up in introducing Oeconomy and Subordination among the Civil Servants, in reforming most notorious abuses, and sometimes when I am dar'd and compelled to it in detecting Frauds and bringing to Shame Individuals in short I will pronounce Calcutta to be one of the most Wicked Places in the Universe—Corruption, Licentiousness and Want of Principle seem to have possessed the Minds of all the Civil Servants, by frequent bad Examples they are grown callous, Rapacious and Luxurious beyond Conception, and the Incapacity and Iniquity of some and the Youth of others have obliged us to call from Madrass 4 Gentlemen to our Assistance, viz., Messrs. Russell, Aldersey, Kelsall and Ffoyer—these Gentlemen are expected every day; with their Assistance I expect to bring this Settlement into some Order, altho' the Gentlemen here all mutiny'd upon being sent for, however, they shall be brought to reason and ruled with a Rod of Iron until I see a Reformation in their Principle and Manners. In short I have undertaken a most disagreeable (sic) and odious Task which my Honour obliges me to get through with. I am become the

Slave of the Company and the Detestation of Individuals, and my Constitution cannot bear it long if I am not reliev'd by the Madrass Gentlemen. . . .

There are frequent allusions in the Barwell Letters⁸ to the ferment created by the arrival of the "four Gentlemen from Madrass," and the events connected therewith. On January 21, 1766, Richard Barwell being then Resident at Maulda, writes from Calcutta to his father, William Barwell, who had come out as a factor in 1722, and, after serving as President and Governor at Fort William from April, 1748, to July, 1749, sat in the Court of Directors from 1753 to 1766:

" As the several occurrences from the Violence of the ruling power cannot fail of becoming publick, it is almost unnecessary to trouble you or myself with a recital. I therefore beg leave to refer you to Mr. Leycester who carrys with him the proceedings pro and con. I shall just take notice that without any shadow of advantage proposed to the Company, the most injurious attacks have been made on the character of every member of our prior Council in Calcutta. To illustrate this, I have but occasion to remark the stretch of authority in the suspension of Mr. Leycester for a more matter of opinion and freedom of sentiment, the unjustifiable treatment of Mr. Gray⁹ proceeding from the same cause, and his Lordship's insulting demeanour towards Mr. Burdett arising from almost ridiculous circumstance¹⁰.

⁸ See Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. IX, pp. 78, seqq.

⁹ George Gray was one of the three writers who were granted two years' rank and seniority for good service at the siege of Calcutta in 1756. He was the son of George Gray, Senior, who was Surgeon to the factory at Cossimbazar at the time of his baptism at St. Anne's Church, Calcutta, on September 1, 1737. In a despatch to the Court dated December 7, 1756, his father solicited an appointment as writer for him. Both father and sons were taken prisoner at the capture of Fort William but escaped to Fulta; where Dr. Gray's (second) wife and infant son Charles were among the refugees. Dr. Gray resigned the service on March 3, 1760, and died at Hunfington, in Scotland, on March 26, 1781—(See Hill's List of Europeans in Bengal in 1756-57).

¹⁰ John Burdett, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, was sent with Holwell, Richard Court, and Ensign Waleot, as a prisoner to Moorshedabad and was granted two years' service by the Company in recognition of his sufferings. He became Resident at Balasore in 1759 and resigned in 1765 (o.c. Sept. 25, 1765, no. 6) Clive being, as he told his Lordship, "determined to make the Service a burden to those who have chanced to differ from you in opinion." In 1811 he is mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in connexion with the death at Camden Town in that year of another Black Hole survivor, Captain James Mills of the Diligence snow who gave up his place at the window to Holwell, and afterwards married Mrs. Vincent, the creator of "Polly Peachum" in the "Beggars' Opera." Mills is stated not to have been the last survivor of those who had witnessed the surrender of Fort William: and the distinction is claimed for John Burdett, "late of Ealing, and now a resident at Tatton, near Southampton." It is believed that he is also the individual referred to in a letter which appeared in the *London Standard* of January 21, 1889, and is quoted in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from old Calcutta*. The assertion is there made that in the year 1840 "there was living in the neighbourhood of Hastings in Sussex a man of about one hundred years old who had been one of those thrust into the Black Hole of Calcutta." Burdett arrived in Bengal as a writer on August 4, 1755, and if he was then sixteen years of age, this would place the date of his birth in 1739. There is nothing improbable therefore in identifying him with the person in question.

The vacated seats at the Board being kept open give room to conjecture an abolition of the succession by seniority is intended; concurring circumstances strengthen this suggestion and those of any foresight wait in anxious expectation the event. It is indeed beyond my power to give you a true idea of the dissatisfaction that reigns here . . .

I was here interrupted by the receipt of letters from Madrass the purport of which evince I have not err'd in my supposition. Four gentlemen from that Establishment are invited to succeed to Council here and are now actually in their passage down. Such a translation his Lordship disapproved of, in the strongest terms, from a Court of Directors, but proceeding from himself the impropriety of the step seems entirely to have been lost in a ridiculous opinion of his own importance, for he bids the Company not to hope from their servants that servile submission to his will and pleasure which he vainly expected should be paid to his vanity (as is evident from the enclosed copy of an address signed by all the Bengal servants). . . .

Though no man is safe who gives Lord Clive cause for displeasure, yet the whole Settlement is so very much irritated that a general resolution has been formed to hold no intercourse with his Lordship, but on points of business, and to disclaim all connections whatsoever with the gentlemen from Fort Saint George. . . .

I must here observe many gentlemen have been tampered with on this occasion, and one of them frightened into a recantation¹¹ but happily for the whole every servant at the Presidency had sign'd to it and it was on the road to the subordinates before intelligence was given his Lordship that the stigma is irrevocably fixed.

In the same month of January, 1766, Barwell sends home another copy of the "bill of grievances" to his friend Anselm Beaumont. He writes:

It is a step so unprecedented and extraordinary and so obviously calculated to place the yoke of dependance on the Service, that all are justly alarm'd at the procedure, and wait in anxious expectation the decision of those they have been taught to look upon as their Masters.

The "four gentlemen from Madrass" duly arrived. Claud Russell was appointed sixth of Council, Accountant and Collector-General; William Aldersey eighth of Council, Import Warehouse-Keeper and Buxey; Thomas Kelsall ninth of Council, Military Paymaster and Customs Master; and Charles Floyer tenth of Council and Military Storekeeper. On September 29, 1766, the Board at Fort William was accordingly thus constituted:—

1. The Right Hon'ble Lord Clive, President.
2. Brigadier-General John Carnac (without right of succession).

¹¹ This was George Gustavus Ducarel, Supervisor of Purneah in 1770. He figured prominently in the Grand-Francis scandal. His house was opposite Grand's.

3. Harry Verelst.
4. Randolph Marriott.
5. Hugh Watts.
6. Claud Russell.
7. Thomas Rumbold.
8. William Aldersey.
9. Thomas Kelsall.
10. Charles Floyer.

Randolph Marriott, fourth in Council, arrived in Bengal at the age of 21 on July 25, 1753 and was assistant at Cossimbazar where, according to Holwell, he escaped capture with Hastings when the factory was seized in the troubles of 1756. He was Assistant Buxey in 1757 and became second at Chittagong in 1761 when he made an expedition into Tipperah and Cachar. In 1763 he was "of Council" under Vansittart and was the first to propose the restoration of Mir Jaffar. In 1765 he had been sent to Benares as Resident but had got into trouble by taking illicit profits from the local Mint. He was summoned to the Presidency, with William Bolts, who was second, and the Committee on February 17, 1766 determined that "Mr. Marriott was highly culpable in renting the Mint" and "ought to bring to the Company's credit all the profits that have accrued to him." His transfer to Balasore was therefore ordered. In 1770 he was writing to Hastings from England to inform him of his marriage. There are a number of letters from him among the Hastings MSS. at the British Museum, notably with reference to the Mutiny at Vellore in 1806, his sons Thomas and Charles being then in charge of the sons of Tippoo Sultan.

Hugh Watts, fifth in Council, was the son of William Watts, famous for the negotiations with Meer Jaffir prior to the Battle of Plassey. His mother was the still more famous lady subsequently known as the Begum Johnson who is buried in St. John's Churchyard; and his sister Amelia, was the wife of Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, whose son was Prime Minister from 1812 to 1827. He was a writer at Cossimbazar when that factory was captured in 1756. In August, 1757, he was appointed Member of Council at Cossimbazar with Hastings. He was Agent at Rungpore in 1763 and Collector of Calcutta from February, 1766, to February, 1767, when his dismissal was ordered by the Court of Directors. He married Elizabeth Fenwick in Calcutta on March 27, 1763.

Of Thomas Rumbold the seventh in Council it is unnecessary to speak at any length.¹² He was one of the typical Nabobs of the eighteenth century, and after buying a seat in Parliament was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1777 to 1780, and received a baronetcy in 1779.

There remain the "four gentlemen from Madras."

¹² See *Bengal Past and Present* (Vol. XXIV, p. 190) for an account of Rumbold's career.

Charles Floyer arrived on the Coromandel coast in 1755 and at the time of his transfer to Bengal was Junior Merchant and Paymaster at Trichinopoly. While in Bengal, he married Catherine Carvalho of Chandernagore, sister of Jeanne, the wife of Jean Law of Lauriston, Governor of Pondicherry. He became Military Paymaster in 1767, Mintmaster in 1769, Secretary to the Select Committee in the same year and Buxey in 1770. In 1771, he returned to Madras as Senior Merchant and must subsequently have gone to Europe. For George Francis Grand records in his "Narrative of a Gentleman Long Resident in India" that when in December, 1775, he embarked on the *Greenwich* Indiaman (676 tons, Captain Robert Carr), then lying in the Downs, he had for fellow-passengers Mr. and Mrs. Floyer and family, "who, from having recently filled the functions of a Bengal Councillor, by direction of Lord Clive, was again translated to his old establishment of Madras, and nominated expressly to the Chiefship of Sasulipatam." His stay there was not long, for in 1776 he was appointed member of the Council of the Governor of Fort Saint George. Here, along with George Stratton, Henry Brooke, and Edward Mackay, he became involved in the strange episode which resulted in the placing of the Governor Lord Pigot under arrest on August 24, 1776 and his detention at St. Thomas' Mount. George Pigot had already been Governor of Fort St. George from January 14, 1755, to November 14, 1763. When Madras was besieged byally he had the good sense to hand over all the arrangements for the defence to Stringer Lawrence, and thereby gained much credit for himself. He had then retired with a fortune of forty lakhs and purchased an Irish peerage. After an exciting contest with Rumbold and an appeal to the General Court of Proprietors, he succeeded in 1775 in carrying his nomination as Governor for the second time and took over charge from Alexander Wynch on December 11 of that year. He had been sent out for the express purpose of re-instating the Raja of Tanjore, whose revenues had been sequestered and administration taken over by the servants of the Company, in conjunction with the Nawab of the Carnatic: but speedily found himself at variance with his Council over the question. The notorious Paul Benfield, who, later on in his career, is credited with having returned nine members to Parliament demanded the settlement of a claim of 23 lakhs which, by a majority of 7 to 5, the Council decided to be valid. Pigot thereupon suspended first two (Stratton and Brooke) and then four of his Councillors and ordered the arrest of Sir Robert Fletcher, the Commander-in-Chief.¹³ The opposition headed

¹³ Fletcher was constantly in hot water throughout his career. While a lieutenant on the Madras establishment, he was dismissed the service for writing insolent letters, but was restored at the instance of Eyre Coote. He became a major in the Bengal Army in 1763, and was again cashiered by Clive in 1766 for leading the revolt of officers against the abolition of the *batta* allowance (see post). Once more he was reinstated and appointed Colonel on the Madras establishment in 1771. In the following year he became Commander-in-Chief in Madras but proved so intractable that he was sent down to command at Trichinopoly. He then entered the House of Commons and came out again to Madras in 1775 as Commander-in-Chief, in succession to General Joseph Smith. In December of the year following he died on his way to Mauritius.

by Stratton immediately assumed the Government and Pigot was arrested by Colonel James Stuart. He was allowed to return to his garden house for change of air on April 24, 1777 and died there on May 20 following. The whole of the Council were recalled by order of the General Court of Proprietors on May 9, 1777 and suspended. Further proceedings were also taken against Stratton, Brooke, Mackay and Floyer who were tried in the Court of King's Bench in December, 1779, and severally fined £1,000. Floyer subsequently returned to Madras and in 1782 was appointed Chief of the Guntur Circars. His end was as dramatic as his career, for he is said to have been shot in a duel by Benjamin Roebuck, a fellow civilian.¹⁴

Claud Russell arrived on the Coromandel coast on June 17, 1752 and at the time of his transfer to Bengal was Senior Merchant and Under-Searcher at the Sea Gate and Assay Master. He returned to Fort St. George in 1771 as a member of the Council of the Governor and was a colleague of Floyer, at the time of the deposition of Pigot. He refused to support the majority in their unconstitutional action, and, indeed, married the Governor's daughter Leonora in October, 1777, five months after Pigot's death. Nevertheless, he was recalled with the other members of Council and suspended: but returned later on to India and in 1782 was Chief of Vizagapatam.¹⁵

William Aldersey arrived on the Coromandel coast in 1754 and was Junior Merchant and Senior Solicitor and Clerk of Appeals at Fort St. George when his services were transferred to Bengal. He became chief of Cossimbazar in 1769. When the Calcutta Revenue Board was established in 1772 to conduct and co-ordinate the operations of the Revenue Board of Murshe-dabad, Patna and Dacca, he was put in charge of the districts round Calcutta and to the west. He was second in Council at the Presidency during Warren Hastings' first administration of Bengal, acting as Governor during his absence "up the country" in September, 1773. He became President of the Board of Trade in 1778 and was succeeded in 1779 by Philip Milner Dacres after whom Dacres Lane in Calcutta is named. He married Henrietta Yorke in Calcutta on February 28, 1775, being described in the register of St. John's Church as "Member of Ye Council of Commerce."

¹⁴ Benjamin Roebuck died at Vizagapatam on August 13, 1809, aged 56, "after serving the East India Company thirty-three years under their Presidency at Fort Saint George." He was uncle of T. A. Roebuck, M.P., for Sheffield, once well known as a reformer. In connection with the case of the notorious Reddy Rao, Sir George Barlow punished Mr. Parry, a private merchant, and Mr. Roebuck, by deporting the former to England and by removing the latter to an inferior station in the Northern Circars, where he died. Barlow's proceedings were subsequently found to have been unjust. The case was the outcome of a commission of enquiry into the claims of the late Nabob of the Carnatic, and the Government were induced to support Reddy Rao on the representation of certain officials who had an interest in his forged bonds. (J. J. Cotton: *List of Monumental Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, no. CL).

¹⁵ Another Claud Russell, probably a son, was appointed to a writership on the Bengal Establishment in 1797, and died at Benares in 1817 when holding the office of Second Judge of the Court of Appeal at that place. He was Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor in the Ceded Districts (N. W. P.) in 1802, acting agent to the Governor-General at Furruckabad in 1803, and Collector of Allyghur from 1804 to 1807. Lord Valentia met him at Futtighur in 1803.

Thomas Kelsall, the fourth of those who were imported from Madras, arrived on the Coromandel coast in 1755, and was Junior Merchant and Assistant at Masulipatam when his services were transferred to Bengal.¹⁶ In 1767, he was appointed Chief at Dacca, much to the annoyance of Richard Barwell, who alleged that the post had been given to him. Subsequently he appears to have gone to Europe with Clive for there is mention of him in a letter written from London on March 29, 1774 by Mr. John Knott to "Mr. Nubkissen" and reproduced in Mr. N. N. Ghose's "Memoirs of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur" (pp. 26-29).

On January 20, 1769, we find Barwell still hankering after the Dacca appointment, for he writes to his sister Mary in England:

"I can only say that I would spend £5,000 to secure for myself the chiefship of Dacca and to supervise the collection of the revenues of that province and which at present is not annexed to the chiefship. I will spend the same to secure to myself the Patna chiefship and the collection of revenues. These situations might be procured me without the exercise of that influence which is absolutely necessary to lift me above those gentlemen who superseded me from Madras. But if the latter could be done, I would prefer it as my rank in Council, I do suppose, might with greater propriety countenance my being advanced to either of these two stations I have just noticed. For such promotion and the proper support I would not scruple to lay out £10,000 and if it can be effected, you may trust to Mr. Beaumont who by this letter I request to engage to draw upon me for this sum as I have no money in England otherwise this expedient would not be necessary."

The revelation afforded by this letter goes far to justify the strictures passed by Clive in his letter to his wife upon "Corruption, Licentiousness, and Want of Principle" which "seem to have possess'd the Minds of all the Civil Servants" of the time. Barwell was then Second of Council at Cossimbazar, with Samuel Middleton the elder as Chief: and it is certainly significant that in 1771 we find him Ninth of Council at the Presidency and Chief at Patna, and two years later Chief at Dacca and Collector of Luckypore and Silhet. In 1774, as we all know, he was appointed, along with Francis, Clavering and Monson, to be a member of the newly-constituted Supreme Council of the Governor-General at Fort William.

While Chief at Dacca Barwell made a fortune in salt transactions in Backergunge; six months after he arrived in Dacca, he applied for permission to remit a lakh of rupees in bullion to England. When threatened by Clavering with legal proceedings, he wrote: "He (Clavering) threatens me with the terrors of law—he brings forward a false charge touching the profits

¹⁶ Henry Kelsall, who may have been a relative, was Mayor of Calcutta from 1754 to 1756. Henry Strachey, Clive's Secretary, married the sister of Thomas Kelsall.

I made from salt while at Dacca. I do not deny the profits I made. I avow them, I always avowed them. They were neither secret nor clandestine, but I object to the conclusions drawn, and refute them."

These were not the only difficulties with which Clive had to contend, as we can learn from a passage in Macaulay's speech on the second reading of the India Bill of 1853. The question before the House of Commons was whether the Civil Service was to be recruited by nomination or by competitive examination. "There is something plausible," said Macaulay, "in the proposition that you should allow the Governor-General to take able men wherever he finds them. But my firm opinion is that the day on which the Civil Service of India ceases to be a close service will be the beginning of an age of jobbing. . . . We have only to look back to those shameful and lamentable years which followed the first establishment of our power in Bengal. . . . There was a tradition in Calcutta that during Lord Clive's second administration, a man came out with a strong letter of recommendation from one of the Ministers. Lord Clive said in his peculiar way, 'well, chap, how much do you want?' Not being accustomed to be spoken to so plainly, the man replied that he only hoped for some situation in which his services might be useful. 'That is no answer, chap,' said Lord Clive, 'How much do you want? Will a hundred thousand rupees do?' The person replied that he would be delighted if, by laborious service, he could obtain that competence. Lord Clive, at once wrote out an order for that sum, and told the applicant to leave India by the ship he came in, and once back in England, to remain there."¹⁷ A hundred thousand rupees was a favourite sum with Clive. When he was called upon for a "sentiment" after dinner, he used to give "alas and a-lackaday" (a lass, and a lakh a day).

The indignation of the "Bengallers" at the intrusion of the "four gentlemen from Madrass" was not of long duration. Clive stood firm: and the sequel is thus related by Barwell in a letter written on September 15, 1766, from Maulda to Ralph Leycester:

The intimidating plan commenced with the suspension of Majendie and the deprivation of posts and offices of such as were in the least suspected of having been the promoters of the remonstrance was pursued with an inimitable obstinacy or perseverance. All means, all methods were adopted to break the association: severity, kindness, violence, and these, I am sorry to say it, have at last worked their effect. . . . In short, every servant who had ventured to express detestation of the administration was marked and immediately stripped of all to their bare pay.¹⁸ This severity was inflicted particularly on

¹⁷ Trevelyan's Life and Letters of Macaulay, Nelson's edition, Vol. II, p. 341.

¹⁸ Francis Charlton, John Reed, Francis Hare and Joseph Jekyll were called to Calcutta (writes Barwell) under pretext of there being too small a number of servants at the Presidency. Thomas Woodward was deprived of his post of Military Storekeeper and William Lamert of the office of Storekeeper of the Works. References to Charlton (writer 1754) may be found in the Memoirs of William Hickey (Vol. I, pp. 22, 236).

such servants as were supposed could least support it, whilst those that could, and had not appear'd very averse to sycophancy, were cajoled. Now many of the senior servants departing from what they had before approved the association dissolved, of course: when lo! the spirited Bengaller's appeared in a body one morning at the table of their Lord and Master. Thus hypocrisy has triumphed over sincerity, and the objects of the greatest detestation to the whole Settlement are regarded with an eye of complacency.

The victory rested with Clive and none too soon: for he had had next to meet and break a "military association" of an even more formidable kind. He abolished the custom of "double batta" in the army which though properly only granted on active service, had been continued by Meer Jaffir since Plassey in time of peace. A dangerous mutiny was organized: and the officers drew up a strongly-worded memorial of remonstrance, to which they signed their names in a circle. Clive once more "determined to put all to the risk rather than suffer the authority of the Council to be insulted." He dismissed a number of officers from the service and the chiefs, including Sir Robert Fletcher, Commandant of the First Brigade¹⁹ were tried by court-martial and sentenced to be cashiered. These prompt and drastic measures produced their effect, and many of the Juniors were subsequently restored to the service.

When the third Brigade were in garrison at Bankipore in 1766, part of the cantonment was destroyed by fire, but the court-martial proved that this was not due to incendiarism. In the course of the enquiry, however, the existence of the "White Mutiny" among the officers was discovered. They addressed a memorial to Clive protesting against the reduction of their *batta* or allowance, but when Clive himself arrived at Bankipore they submitted and withdrew their resignations.²⁰

A graphic account of the Mutiny is given by Barwell in the letter written to Leycester, from Maulda on September 15, 1766, from which an extract has already been taken:

The Military Association is one of that extraordinary nature, I think it can scarce be paralleled, nor can the mad obstinacy of C[live]. For after repeated applications and modest representations of the sad state to which they (the officers) were reduced by the abolition of *Batta*, they determined (4 months being elapsed from their very earnest solicitation) to relinquish the service in a body, unless their request should be granted. This was carried on with such secrecy that his Lordship had no notice of it until he was made acquainted that the officers had declined to take any pay for the month of May. Upon this followed

¹⁹ See note ¹² on p. 15.

²⁰ O'Malley: Patna Gazetteer, 1907, p. 182.

letters from the 3 Brigades with their several Commissions.—Colonel Barker having refused to accept of those offered to him by the officers of his Brigade, they were necessitated to forward them down themselves. . . . His Lordship who was then at Mootajill holding the *poona*²¹ set out for the army on the 5th May and wrote to all Officers at Calcutta, etc., places to join him on the instant. Invitations were likewise given to all free merchants and others to repair to his Lordship's standard and the Settlements, Bombay and Madrass wrote to in the most urgent manner for officers and troops. It is surprising his Lordship who saw plainly the imminent danger to which the Company's possessions would be exposed, with the lives and properties of every individual, yet persisted in his resolution at a time when the means to prevent the ill consequences that might have accrued from it was not in his power. Prudence would in all probability have induced others to temporise till the risk of enforcing their resolutions had been lessened. You, who know Clive's temper will not be surprised, at his chusing to hazard all on the turn of dye rather than his royal will and pleasure should be contravened. He proceeded up, and, with the perseverance or obstinacy of a Hero, dismissed the Officers of the Garrison of Mungheer, and gave and promised the Sepoys and Europeans of the Garrison as much or more than the *Butta* to the Officers would have amounted to in two years; yet this would even have proved ineffectual, if the Officers that relinquished and were order'd down to Calcutta had not with the most earnest entreaties prevailed on the Sepoys to remain quiet. The Europeans did absolutely mutiny, but were prevented by a donation from proceeding to any lengths. The officers stationed at Patna and Iliabas²² finding C— was either determined to perish or effect his purpose, and well judging the sequel of a general resignation from the spirit evident not only in the Black Troops but the very Europeans that form'd the

²¹ The Punya was a ceremony of great state, at which the annual settlement of the land revenue was made. It was attended by all the principal zemindars who presented nuzzurs to the Nawab and received khilluts in return. At this time the Motijhil palace, which was surrounded on three sides by a long horse-shoe shaped lake of clear water, was the official residence of the British Resident at the Durbar (a post created by Clive in 1765) and in September 1766 it was occupied by Francis Sykes. John Shore lived there from 1771 to 1773. According to *Riyazu-s-Salatin* the place had fallen into ruins in 1788. The promontory round which the lake curves is still known as Agenti Bagh.

In May 1766 Clive went to Moorshidabad and held the first English punya at the Motijhil palace, with the young Nawab, Nujum-ud-dowlah, seated on the musnid, and himself, as Dewan, on his right hand. A few days later, Nujum-ud-dowlah died of small pox and was succeeded by his brother, Saif-ud-dowlah. In the year following (1767) the Punya was again celebrated in the same place with even greater pomp by Verelst, in conjunction with the new Nawab; khilluts being distributed to the amount of over two lakhs.

²² Allahabad. The form "Iliabas" was corrupted by British soldiers into "Isto o Bats" (*Hobson-Jobson*).

Garrison of Mungheer, they determined to keep in the service (unless his Lordship had determined to the contrary) and by that means prevent the mischiefs they saw impending the publick I believe was the sole consideration of their not having to a man relinquished (some exceptions ought to be made, however, such as were in hopes of preferment and commands, had no friends in Europe, or any other possible means of obtaining a subsistance). I am pretty well assured likewise that when C's resolution was known which if opposed with equal obstinacy must render our very being in Bengal precarious, yet some entertained a notion of the diabolical alternative—assassination. This was overruled and submission preferr'd; but, should the Direction finally resolve to abolish *Batta*, I really think the best of their officers will relinquish. His Lordship has buoyed them up with the hope of re-obtaining it for them, and they seem as if they waited only for a reply from Europe to take their final resolution. Many, no doubt, will stay but poor living and a depressed state, as it will put them below the level of a seapoy Black Officer, will render them the less respected, and in a little time (possibly) contemptible. Now whatever tends to lessen the importance of our European officers or men in the eyes of the Country Forces tends likewise to destroy the opinion we have grafted of their consequence and superiority. Of course measures that have such a tendency are not only impolitic but extremely pernicious, as they sap the very foundation of our being, in destroying the only influence we can hope to exist by. It is therefore, my wish the officers may have a reasonable *Batta* allowed them, or else that the Court of Directors keep up here a force of 10,000 Europeans at the least.

Clive's health was now shattered: and on January 19, 1767, he addressed a letter, of which the following is the original draft, to "Henry Verelst, Esq., etc., Members of Council at Fort William."

GENTLEMEN,

The situation of my Private Affairs, my late Indisposition, and the still declining State of my Constitution, make it absolutely necessary that I should return to England this season. The Court of Directors very strongly Sollicit me to continue in India another Year. Could I suppose that my Presence here was any longer requisite at a time when the country is in perfect Tranquility, when Harmony reigns throughout the Settlement, and when a Form of Government is established which promises the firmest Support to the Company's Rights and Privileges: was I not well acquainted with the Disposition of the present members of this Board, and thoroughly convinced of their Integrity, Zeal, and Abilities as well as of their Inclination to do their Duty to the Company, I should not hesitate to continue in the Government, altho' I

have reason from the Opinion of my Physician to think that I could not another Year survive the Laborious Business of that Office.

...
Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

CLIVE.

On one of the last days of February, 1767, the Baron of Plassey, accompanied by his old and valued friend General Carnac, and the gentlemen of his household, proceeded down the river and embarked on board the *Britannia*, an Indiaman of 499 tons under the command of Captain Thomas Bates Rous (afterwards a Director of the Company from 1773 to 1779). On July 14, he landed at Portsmouth: and his next experience was to be questioned "like a sheepstealer" by his enemies in the House of Commons. But a third triumph awaited him; for after a whole night's debate the House unanimously carried the famous resolution "That Robert Lord Clive at the same time rendered great and meritorious service to the country." There was justice in the verdict. Posterity has long since endorsed the judgment passed upon Clive's second administration of Bengal by his friend and successor Harry Verelst on January 29, 1767:²³

By the unwearied Zeal and Assiduity of Lord Clive, good Order and Discipline have once more been restored both in the Civil and Military Departments. The Spirit of Party which raged with so much violence on His Lordship's arrival is entirely rooted out and a proper subordination is again established in the Settlement.

Clive settled great foundations, as Burke aptly said: but the building of the superstructure was left to other hands. On November 27, 1774, he put an end to his life by his own hand at the house in Berkeley-Square which still bears the name-plate of his descendant, the Earl of Powis.

Historical Records relating to Northern India, 1700-1817.

(By Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S., Honorary M. R. A. S.)

I

I shall not deal here with the historical records of this period written in European languages. The English records have been mostly hand-listed up

²³ The two documents here quoted formed part of the collection shown by the Records Department of the Government of India at the Exhibition organized in January 1923, in connexion with the meeting in Calcutta of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Gaps are to be found in both owing to the crumbling of the paper: and extensive repairs which have been performed with admirable skill, have been necessary.

, 1793, and many of them have been printed, some in full, some in the lightly abridged form called calendars. The French records at Pondicherry ave been catalogued and are in a rapid process of publication, thanks to the enterprise of the Society for the History of French India and the impetus given , Indo-French history by M. Alfred Martineau.

As for the Portuguese papers preserved at Goa, the more important of them, such as treaties, diplomatic correspondence, instructions to Government officers, etc., have been printed by J. F. J. Biker in his *Colleccao de 'ratados e concertos*, 14 vols. The other papers in the Goa archives are of minor importance, because in the 17th century the Portuguese ceased to occupy an influential position in Indian politics, and sank into a mere provincial power. They lost connection with the imperial Government of Delhi, and had diplomatic relations only with the petty chieftains in their immediate neighbourhood, such as the Savant of Vadi ("the Bounselfo"), and the esais of Sunda, Sanquelin, Bicholin, Ponda, etc., besides a short war with hambhuji. Early in the 18th century, they had some hostilities with the Peshwas: but after the peace with Baji Rao I in 1739 their relations with the Poona Government are indicated only by a small series of MS. reports rom the Portuguese agents at the Peshwa's Court, in addition to what Biker as printed. The Portuguese records, therefore, cease to be of any value for North Indian history after the accession of Aurangzib.

II

The problem of Indian history in the Mughal period is to find out the most original sources of information. We, no doubt, possess the contemporary official histories, written by order of the Emperors of Delhi from Babur to Bahadur Shah I. But they are derivative works, as they were compiled from still earlier records, or documents written immediately after the events described. To this latter class belong (1) the despatches from the various provincial governors and generals, (2) the reports sent to Court by news-writers and spies, (3) the summaries of such of these despatches and reports as were read out to the Emperor in public Court and embodied in the *akhbarat* or manuscript news-sheets sent to the various Rajahs and nobles by their agents at the imperial *darbar*, and (4) the instructions of the Emperor and his ministers to officers absent on duty. Of the first and fourth classes much material has perished, and the only remnant now surviving is the handful incorporated in formal letter-books left behind by certain secretaries or *munshis* in the service of the Emperor and some nobles. No report of a Government spy or news-writer is now in existence in its full original form. Therefore, the scientific historian of the Mughal period is left to depend almost entirely upon the *akhbarat* or news-sheets telling us of the daily occurrences at the imperial Court, the Emperor's movements and public orders, and the news and rumours circulating there.

The importance of these manuscript newspapers or unofficial Court-bulletins has been described by me in a paper read at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore in 1920. I then called them the Missing Links of Indian History, because at that time only two sets of these documents were known to exist, namely a large collection referring to Aurangzib's reign in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and twenty-two sheets only dated the close of Muhammad Shah's reign in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

Since then large masses of these raw materials of Mughal history have been traced. The earliest and most copious belong to the Jaipur State archives, and run from 1681 to 1725. Those of a later period exist in great volume, but dispersed over many collections and with sad gaps in their midst.

The imperial Government as well as private persons (such as dependent Rajahs) also kept news-reporters in the camps of the Mughal princes and other grandees who governed provinces or commanded expeditions. *Akhbarat* of this class has been found for Prince Muhammad Azam Shah's viceroyalty of Gujrat and Prince Bidar Bakht's governorship of Malwa, both in the closing years of Aurangzib's reign. The former belong to the R. A. S. and the latter to Jaipur. For the second half of the 18th century records of this class are copious, as I shall indicate a little later. We thus get the raw materials of provincial history, though not in an unbroken series.

III

From 1750 onwards the Emperor's power rapidly declined and the importance of the provincial governors increased. The Delhi Court, therefore, fell into insignificance as the creative centre of political news; it merely continued as a sort of news-exchange. The wazir of Oudh, the Rohila sardar, the Jaipur Rajah, the Jat chief of Bharatpur, Sindhia, Holkar, the successors of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and even Ranjit Singh of Lahore, now dominated the political scene, each for a period only. Happily, many of the news-letters written from their camps and Courts have been preserved, though many more have perished.

But the news-sheets now change their character in two ways: First, unlike the *akhbarat* of Aurangzib's or Bahadur Shah's Court, they do not record any and every news heard there, nor mention every Court incident, great and small. They give longer accounts and selected news only; or speaking in terms more familiar to us, they cease to be mere telegraphic summaries and assume more and more the character of news-paper reports. Secondly, they join together in one report the news of several days, sometimes a fortnight, instead of giving only one day's or sometimes one noon's news only. This change made it necessary to use two or three very long sheets of paper, while the earlier daily news-letters of Aurangzib's or even Muhammad Shah's time

are compressed into one small slip of paper only. These late 18th century *hbarat* exactly resemble the news columns of our English weekly papers of old days before the telegraph.

The news-sheets also change their name at this period, being no longer signated *akhbarat-i-darbar-i-muala*, but simply *akhbar*, *sawanik*, *parcha-i-hbar*, or *ahwal-i-taza*.

It may be objected that these news-letters are not authentic, as they contain only what was heard or rumoured at the place of their writing and are not of the same value as despatches and secret State-papers written by the makers of history. An examination of the real character of these *akhbarat* shows that the objection is based upon a misconception. For one thing, they contain summaries of despatches received or sent out (except secret orders). Secondly, no secret could be kept in Mughal India. And thirdly, the news circulating at the Court of a king or the camp of a general, whether true or false, was the only information available to him, and it determined his line of action. We thus get from the *akhbarat* a knowledge of the true springs of his conduct and policy. But at the very close of the 18th century, when Europeans became the political masters of the country and the old Mughal capitals (like Delhi and Agra) totally lost their political importance, the newsletters from these cities began to contain merely bazar gossip, and the word *hbar* gained a disreputable name for false rumours.

IV.

The perishing of the greater part of the Mughal State-papers and Court-bulletins is due to a cause which European historians do not easily realise. In pre-British days the records of every department of the Mughal Government or a feudatory State were usually kept in the house of the secretary of that department and not in any Government building or archives. No doubt, evenue returns, accounts, etc., would be kept in the record-room of the evenue department, by reason of their immense volume and the need of frequent reference. But all other papers, after they have been read and answered, and thus have ceased to be what we now call "Current correspondence," would be taken by the secretary to his own house, where he transacted his work when not in attendance on the prince or the minister. Administrative convenience dictated this practice, as, in the absence of a State archivist or general record-keeper, the secretary to a department was the only "walking index" to the old records of that department; he alone knew what papers were possessed by the Government with reference to a particular case and where these papers were. None else could pick them out quickly.

The result of this old practice was disastrous for history, as Sir Dayakishan Kaul pointed out in his paper on the Patiala records read at our Lahore session in 1920. With the decay of the old families of hereditary secretaries, much valuable material of first-rate importance has perished. Masses of old paper

have rotten in their houses or been swept away as rubbish by their poor ignorant descendants, while the masters of the old secretaries have neglected to recover these records from their houses.

V

The Jaipur State archives, as may be expected, contain a large mass of letters from the Mughal Government and the officers of the Rajah to him, besides a huge collection of accounts papers which will be of first-rate importance for the economic history of Rajputana in the 17th and 18th centuries, if such a history ever comes to be written. But one series which I had looked for there cannot be found, I mean the secret correspondence between the Marathas and the Jaipur Rajahs, which must be of very great value, as Sawai Jai Singh brought the Marathas into Malwa, and his successors had frequent relations, usually unfriendly, with the Deccani generals throughout the 18th century.

There are twelve rooms on the ground floor of the Amber palace stored with old State papers, all of which with a few exceptions have been eaten up and reduced to mould by white-ants. I could read three scraps of these and found them to have been sent by Rajah Ram Singh from Rangamati on the Assam frontier in 1674. These, so far as can be now judged from their appearance, were not papers of imperial interest or first-rate importance, but belonged to the minor class of salary bills, accounts, army-lists, revenue returns of villages, etc. The old revenue papers of the various parganahs belonging to Jaipur, from the 18th century onwards have been carefully preserved with due arrangement in another office (the Mustaufi daftari) in Amber (though here, too, some bundles are ant-eaten).

The Jaipur darbar is rich in the possession of a great number of genuine old *farmans* with their seals and embroidered cloth envelopes (*kharijas*) quite intact. These are of extreme value and may properly adorn a historical museum. Nowhere else in the world has such a collection survived.

All the extant records of Udaipur have been embodied by Kaviraj Shyamaldas in his monumental Hindi history the *Vira-vinode*. Stray documents, such as *farmans* from the Emperor, *hasb-ul-kukms* and *parwanahs* from his ministers, and news-letters, are possessed by some other Rajput States, and even by private families. But the time and labour required in listing and co-ordinating them would be out of all proportion to their value. Most of them are later than 1740, and their owners are not always communicative. Lala Sri Ram, M.A., an enlightened *rajs* of Delhi, has two volumes of diaries, —one dealing with the Marathas in northern India in 1792-3, and the other with the imperial family in Delhi fort in 1854-55—both of which have been described in the *Journal of Indian History* for Feb. 1922 (Vol. I, pt. 2). They are of rather late dates; but his collection is always open to scholars.

ome stray *akhbars* have gone to the India Office, London. (See Ethe's catalogue.)

VI

The Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal of Poona is building up a store of the 18th century news-letters in Persian (particularly relating to Mahadji Sindhi), which promises to grow in volume if private owners in the Deccan are liberal enough to deposit their historical records of this class in the Mandal library, for ready use by research students. Several families of hereditary State servants of the Peshwa period, such as the Parasnis, Waqnis, etc., still hold large or small bundles of old papers, which are perishing through neglect. The general ignorance of the Persian language prevailing in the Deccan will prevent the examination and use of these records in the houses of their present owners.

As for the news-letters and other historical papers written in the Marathi language, there was a very large collection of them in the house of Nana Adnis at the village of Menauli. Some of them have been saved from destruction and printed by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, and some, I understand, have been brought to the Poona Mandal. The entire collection, judging from their owner's position as the *de facto* head of the Maratha State for many eventful years, must have been very valuable. They, however, refer to the last quarter of the 18th century.

VII

His Highness the Holkar of Indore has very copious records in the Marathi language, the earliest of which date back to the time of the first Malhar Rao, the founder of the dynasty. There are abundant reports from the agents of this State at the Courts of Oudh, Delhi, Jaipur, Calcutta, etc., in the second half of the 18th century, and particularly of the time of Ahalya Bai. A fire in the archives has destroyed some precious bundles, but much more has escaped with a slight scorching along the edge,—so that at the worst each paper in these damaged bundles has lost only three lines of writing. If these documents are properly arranged and calendared, it would win for His Highness the Holkar the praise and gratitude of the learned world.

It is not known to outsiders that the enterprise and perseverance of the Foreign Office of the Holkar's Government have secured, at an immense cost, faithful transcripts of all the English records in the India Office, London, and the Marathi papers in the Peshwa's Daftar, Poona, relating to Holkar, Sindhi and the Fuars of Dhar. The city of Indore, therefore, can now afford nearly all the materials required for a full history of Malwa in the 18th century. An earnest historian, if he is prepared to undertake this task, will probably, find every help in the learning of Dr. Kibe, the ripe knowledge and devotion of Messrs. Mathu Lal and Phadke, and the scholarship of Mr. A. N. Bhagwat, who are directly connected with the records of Indore.

VIII

In the Land Alienation Office at Poona, miscalled the Peshwas' Daftar,—because the Peshwas' papers form only a fraction of its contents,—there are twenty-four bundles of historical materials in the Persian language, besides several others of mixed contents in the same language, though of minor importance. I have made a rapid examination of all of them. About half the mass is absolutely useless, being made up of children's copybooks, lithographed Persian works, fragments of MSS., and ordinary waste paper. An examination of them is apt to produce the hasty idea that the Inam Commission had made house-searches throughout the country, brought to Poona everything written in Persian and every scrap of old writing in Modi that they found anywhere, and left the bundles undisturbed ever afterwards. The fact is that the holders of inam lands deposited all their old papers without discrimination in the office of the Inam Commission, and these have remained there mostly unexamined,—at least unsorted, unindexed, and unreturned. The only thing done has been to tie them up in cloth-bundles of a tolerably uniform size, by bringing together the papers of several families, without distinction of date or place.

Roughly half the contents of the Persian bundles are waste paper. About one-fourth consists of old revenue accounts of parganahs like Sironj, Chamargunda, Ahmadnagar, etc., and these are of little use now. But the residue of about one-quarter of the mass is true historical material, some of them being of the highest value. They may be classified thus:—

- (i) Farmans from the Mughal Emperors and the older Adil Shahi dynasty.
- (ii) Parwanahs or orders.
- (iii) Copies of older grants, attested under the seal of the qazi (*khadim-t-shara*).
- (iv) News-letters from Northern India, and a few from British armies, mostly later than 1806.
- (v) Private legal documents, such as bonds, agreements, receipts, jury reports (*mahazar*), and petitions to the Mughal Government.

IX

I shall here specially dwell on the fourth of the above classes. The original Persian news-letters that were sent from Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Jaipur and other capitals to the British Indian Government at Calcutta throughout the 18th century, have perished. But English translations of them made at the time have been preserved and are printed in 3 vols. of *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, with two others ready for the press. Similarly, the Imperial Record Office at Calcutta possesses a long series of letters written by Col. J. Collins, Resident at the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia, to Lord Wellesley or his Secretary, during the very important period just preceding the

Second Maratha War. (Only four of Collins's letters have been printed in *Wellesley's-Despatches* ed. by Martin.) These contain English summaries of the intelligence sent by traders and British agents from various centres in Upper India. We thus possess the news on which Wellesley shaped his policy.

But there is a vast collection of news-letters in the original Persian belonging to our Government, though not noticed hitherto. These are in the Poona Alienation Office, and exceed a thousand in number. Most of them refer to the period leading up to and during the last Maratha War. They came from the Courts of Ranjit Singh (who is called Lahorwala and Sardar, as he had not yet developed into a Maharajah), Amir Khan of Tonk, the Begam of Bhopal, Jagat Singh of Jaipur, Holkar, Daulaf Rao Sindhia, Raghuji Bhonslé, Mudhaji Bhonslé Appa Sahib, Zalim Singh of Kotah, and the Razam, and the camps of Ochterlony, General Beatson, and Metcalfe. Several of these packets of news still retain their covering letter,—some addressed to "Colonel Sahib." This very valuable mass should be flattened, properly arranged, listed, and made available for scholars.

The Land Alienation Office of Poona, on its Persian side, possesses in addition to these varied original materials for political and military history, also several documents fit to be exhibited in a museum, of which I shall here cite three examples:—

(1) The original farman of Shah Jahan, dated 1630, to Khelaji Bhonslé, the first cousin of the great Shivaji's father Shahji, praising him for his loyalty to the imperial cause and urging him to work hard and serve Yamin-id-daula, the Mughal general in the Deccan.

(2) An order from Aurangzib, dated 9th January, 1690, warning the imperial collectors of provisions in pargana Chamargunda not to molest the peasants in securing grain for the imperial camp.

(3) A petition from a high officer to the Emperor, making certain demands, with the Emperor's reply to each item of demand written in his own hand in the margin against it.

Many more of such interesting documents might be picked up by a more detailed examination.

X

The result of the searches for historical materials so long made by me, may be summed up thus:—

Period 1700-1725.....extremely rich in Persian *akhbarats* (mostly in London and Jaipur), Marathi documents very few, but Peshwas' Daftars likely to yield some.

1725-1757 . . . poor in Persian and Marathi sources. Much material has perished. Only 20 sheets of Persian *akhbarat* (1744) in Paris and four in

Poona L. A. Office (c. 1754). The surviving Marathi documents have been mostly published.

1757-1781 . . . a small amount of Persian *akhbarat* still extant in the Poona Mandal; English trans. of many (originals lost) in *Calendar of Persian Cor.* Many Marathi papers already printed, and many news-letters in that language extant in Indore (but not yet catalogued). Many Persian *akhbarat* likely to come to light in Poona and elsewhere.

1781-1795 very copious Marathi papers (large numbers of them already printed by Parasnisi, Rajwade, and Khare). Enormous quantities of unprinted Marathi sources at Indore, Poona and probably also at Gwalior. Persian *akhbarat* already discovered, many for 1788-1795, and more are constantly accumulating at the Poona Mandal. Menauli records were very rich in Persian and Marathi papers.

1795-1817 . . . huge collection of Persian *akhbarat* in the L. A. Office, and Mandal of Poona, with a few in the India Office, London. English summaries in the MS. despatches of J. Collins (Imperial Record Office). Marathi materials copious (many published down to 1803). English MS. sources not yet calendared.

Note on the Peshwas' records and their historical value with a few extracts from Chitnishi letters.

(By Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnisi.)

'As an humble student in the field of Maratha historical research it is my pleasant duty to tender my respectful and hearty welcome to the President and Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission to this historic capital of Maharashtra. We are all grateful to them for taking so much interest in the history of this part of the country. It is in the fitness of things that at this session they should expect to know something about "the Peshwas' records and their historical value", and it will not be out of place if I venture to offer a few remarks on the State records of the Maratha Rulers of the Deccan.

It is a well known fact that the State records of Shivaji, the illustrious founder of the Maratha Empire, are not in existence. They were preserved at Raigad in the *Daftari Khana* or Records Office which was a special department of Shivaji's government. During the reign of Sambhaji and Rajaram the fort was captured and held by the Moghuls for some time and many a State record was destroyed in the chaos. Shahu on his release from the Moghul camp established his rule at Satara, which is still called Shahu-Nagar or the "City of Shahu." It appears that most of the

portant grants given to old families by the great Shivaji had perished during the days of the Moghul campaign, and Shahu consequently had to issue fresh Sanads on account of the destruction of old State records. This will partly account for the non-existence of the records of the Maratha Government from the beginning. From Shahu's reign systematic efforts were made to preserve State records at Satara and the few old bundles that were transferred to Poona by the British Government after the annexation of Satara and now known as "Shahu Daftar" (1703-1840) are the remnants of the Satara State Records, which contain some valuable documents. After the death of Shahu in 1749, the importance of Satara as the seat of the Maratha Government passed on to Poona, and from that date onwards, all State records were stored by the Peshwas at Poona. It may however be noted that the administration of the Maratha State was carried on at Poona from the days of Bajirao I and we find that the State records at Poona date from the year 1729 A.D. The records from this year to the end of the Peshwas' rule have been preserved in a tolerably good condition, except for a blank of seven years from 1757 to 1763, the period of the fatal battle of Panipat, and the consequent disaster which followed the sudden attack of the Nizam of Poona. In this confusion, an attempt was made to remove the important documents to Sinhagad for safe custody but most of the records were burnt during the sack of Poona. From 1764 to 1796, chiefly during the regime of Nana Phadnavis, the State records are in perfect order.

These records of the Peshwas which are commonly known as the "Peshwa Daftar" are described by Captain J. Macleod, Assistant to Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1819, as "all accounts of receipts and expenditure of the revenues of the State whether the realisations from the provinces are from whatever sources, the expenses of troops, establishments, inams, and every species of grant, gift and money transaction whatever; excepting only private affairs of the Prince or such accounts as it suited not the teres¹ of the individuals in power to leave on record. It was a very extensive establishment consisting of about 200 Karkuns divided into several departments for the various branches of business. The whole was under the Huzur Phadnavis and was generally distinguished the *Chalte Daftar*, *Ekberji Daftar* besides the *Potnawisi Daftar*, treasury and other departments not immediately connected with revenue accounts." From this description given by Captain Macleod it will be apparent that the Poona daftar consisted of papers relating to the usual routine of administration and as such they were all arranged by the British Government. Of course they have added later on, several other records from the Angria's daftar at Kolaba (1790 to 1840), the Konkan Daftar from Ratnagiri (1754 to 1818), certain Karnatic and Gujarath records, and Jamavars or papers collected by the Inam Commission, and also the English records of the Poona and Satara Residencies. It must be borne in mind that these records were purely of an administrative nature and were collected for the same purpose and classified and arranged with the same object only.

Old documents, however, are a valuable legacy of a nation and they are permanently useful not merely in view of administrative needs but also from the historian's point of view. The selections from the Peshwa's diaries (really speaking "Roj Kirds" or daily accounts) and Sanads and treaties which were prepared under the orders of Government by the late Mr. Wad, prove beyond doubt the historical value of the old papers. As observed by the late Mr. Justice Ranade they do not contain narration of political events but they throw light upon "the condition of the people, how they lived and thrived, the pleasures which amused them, their superstitions and their beliefs, their morals, their manners and their customs." They also give a clear account of the way "in which the work of Government was carried under native rule, how land revenue was assessed and collected, how the forts were guarded, how sayar revenues (consisting of Mohotarfa, Abkari, salt, customs, tributes, etc.) were administered, how the armies were raised and paid for, how the navy was manned, how the State borrowed its public debt, how civil and criminal justice was dispensed, how the departments of Police, post, mint, prisons, charities, pensions, public works, medical reliefs and sanitation were regulated and controlled, how trade and commerce was encouraged and learning fostered." All such information can be gleaned from the vast collection of the State records in the Poona daftar. It requires only a systematic and scientific index or, at least a hand-book such as we have for the India Office records by Foster.

It seems to be a common impression that the Peshwa's daftar contains all original State papers of political importance and if they are properly searched, they will throw a flood of new light on the history of the Marathas. After a careful investigation for a number of years I have found that the Peshwa's daftar consisted mainly of State accounts and other papers useful for administrative purposes. It never contained the regular despatches or correspondence of the political or foreign departments of the Peshwa's Government, as it was the custom in those days that such important documents were lodged with the hereditary minister in charge of the portfolio for the sake of convenience and secrecy, and most valuable documents such as Imperial grants and sanads were similarly lodged in the Ratna-Shalā or Jewellery department. The papers of real historical importance recently discovered by the research students come from the descendants of these hereditary ministers or their relations, which will chiefly account for the absence of political despatches or correspondence in the Peshwa's daftar.

The only Marathi papers that will furnish material useful for historical purposes are what may be called the Chitnishi papers. These were merely official correspondence of one branch of the Account Department and mostly consist of letters written by several officers from various places about different matters pertaining to administration. Once they were in A.D. 1835 examined by Amanatdars or Agents who were specially appointed to sort and arrange them, but were thrown away by them as useless. These Amanatdars could

not realise the historical value of such papers, their chief concern being merely to find out anything that had a bearing on alienation matters. In those days the historical sense of the people had not been awakened to the same extent as at present, and naturally, there was apathy for historical research. The Chitnishi papers were thus sorted and kept aside as a useless mass. But later on, Government began to take great interest in old records from the historical point of view, and when the Chitnishi papers were brought to their notice by Rao Bahadur Wad, they were pleased to entrust their scrutiny and examination to the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society at the instance of the late Mr. Justice Ranade and Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. I had the privilege to carry on the work for a number of years with the result that I have been able to select about 10,000 papers from what was regarded almost as so much rubbish. These papers undoubtedly do not form first rate material —they are simply useful as affording disconnected bits of information. In many cases they bear no dates, nor the names of the writers, nor of those to whom they were addressed. But the information they convey is authentic and at times very useful for the purpose of amplification and elucidation of facts. With a view to give a correct idea of the nature of these scrappy papers I have selected a few typical letters which I propose to read here:—

Letters from the Chitnishi Papers.

No. 1.

[*Letter from Ganesh Sambhaji to the Peshwa, dated Kalpi, the 20th Rajab (Magh Vadya Saptami).*]

After compliments. " Assistance applied for from Ujjain did not arrive. By daily marches I came to Seronj. Abdali forced his way into Delhi and Sindhia opposed him. The forces in the encampment were in advance of followers. They had already been fighting for three or four months with Rohillas. In the meantime Abdali arrived and attacked them. The battle raged fierce. The sowars could not see each other. Dattaji Sindhia, who did not depend on help from others, attacked the artillery of Abdali. The battle lasted for an hour and half. Dattaji fell. Jankoji rallied the forces and advanced. He was wounded in the arm and therefore retreated and was followed by the enemy. Malharrao Holkar joined Jankoji after he fell back 40 *Kos* at Karauli with some men of Madhav Singh with whom he had made peace. They sent the followers with Govind Ballal and again marched towards Delhi. The news from there is that severe fighting again took place, large numbers were slain on both sides, and Abdali gave way and retired towards Lahore. He is now being pursued by our forces. By daily marches I have come to Dhakoni where 500 of the sowars of Samsher Bahadur have joined me."

No. 2.

This contains a memo. of the silver and gilt images of Rama, Lakshman, Sita, Mahadeo and Lakshmi Narayan with their sandal-wood seats. These images were presented to Baji Rao in the year A.D. 1789 by Siddi Abdul Karim Khan of Janjira through Madhavrao Vaman Nevrekar, clerk attached to the English Government at Calcutta (dimmat Calcuttakar Ingraj).

No. 3.

Letter to the Peshwa from Trimbak Ram, Phadnis to the Subah of Kalpi, dated Malharrao Holkar's camp at Mukundra, the 15th Rabilakhar.

The writer states that the state of Bundelkhand, Jhansi under the mamlat of Ganesh Sambhaji is very bad. He goes on:—"He has extorted money from several Deccani Officers. (Owing to discontent) the Raja of Jaipur is thinking of driving away the Marathas from Malwa, and Subhedar Malharrao Holkar had to send his army under Gangadhar Yashwant as a precautionary measure. Ganesh Sambhaji disobeying the orders of Government has alienated the Bundelas and the Chiefs of Orchha and Datia. He is also in the secret pay of Suja-ud-dowlah and has obtained firmans from the Emperor Shah Alam and styles himself Ganesh Rao Bahadur. He has exacted during the past two years, namely, 1761 and 1762, amounts to the extent of Rs. 24,00,000 from Kalpi and the surrounding districts of Bundelkhand, and in the shape of fines ten to twelve lakhs from Jhansi." The writer points out that unless Ganesh Sambhaji is punished, the Maratha power in these provinces will not be re-established, and friendly relations cultivated with the Chiefs. He, therefore, requests that Malharji Holkar be ordered to proceed there with his army, punish Ganesh Sambaji, and recover the Maratha territory in Bundelkhand and the Doab.

No. 3-A.

Memo. of all the ordnance of the Peshwa under the supervision of Govind Trimbakrao.

- 49 Cannon and small cannon (Jambures).
- 3 Mortars (Garnals).
- 15 Cannon from Bombay.

The names of important cannon with the army:—

Name.	Charge of powder.	Weight of the ball.
1. Kalapahar	4 Seers	5½ Seers.
2. Padashah-pasand	3½ „	4½ „ and 9 tolas.
3. Mulk-Maidan	3 „	3½ „
4. Kadak-bijli	1½ „	2 „
5. Shiv-prasad	1½ „	1½ „
6. Hanumant-prasad	½ „	1 „
7. Samsher	1½ „	2 „
8. Medha	1½ „	2½ „
9. Hatti-hanmant	1½ „	1½ „
10. Ganesh-prasad	½ „ and 9 tolas .	1½ „
11. Bahar Khan	1½ „ „ . .	2½ „
12. Sundar-ban	½ „	½ „
13. Dil-pasand	1½ „	2 „
14. Hingalaj	1 „	1½ „
15. Parvati	1½ „	1½ „
16. Bahini-prasad	1 „	1½ „
17. Sayyad-ul-mulk	½ „	2½ „
18. Pant-prasad	1½ „	2½ „
19. Dushman-tod	2 „	3 „ and 9 tolas.
20. Daulat-buksha	4½ „	6 „ „
<i>Mortars.</i>		
21. Phatte-asman	5½ Seers	0
22. Madhyan	2 „	0
23. Small mortar	2 „	0

No. 4.

Letter from Peshwa's Naval Officer without date.

“ Shaikh Sayadi, the Ruler of Maskat, which is in the territory of Arabia, is a man of influence. He is now the sole Ruler of Maskat and owes no

allegiance to the King of Arabia. He is in correspondence with our Government and sends trading vessels everywhere from Maskat. He has sent to Your Highness a pair of horses as a present and also a pair of carpets, which Tulaji Angria has seized. The letters of the Shaikh have come in a ship belonging to Mahmad Saleh who is a respectable man. He has asked for a boat of conveyance. Necessary instructions may be issued in the matter."

No. 5.

Letter from Keshav Joshi Chiplunkar.

States: " My brother Balkrishna prescribed a date for laying the foundation stone of the Fort of Thana and got the astrologership and priesthood of the Fort and Town. I have exercised the same for 14 years. Now in the year *tissa* (nine) the *vatans* of Palshe Brahmans were attached by Government and one Gopal Bhat Hardikar was appointed to do the duties of the priesthood. He now objects to my *vatan* in the town. I get very little money in the Fort of Thana and cannot maintain myself. I, therefore, beg that I may be allowed to exercise my priesthood in the town."

No. 6.

[*Letter from Government to Moroji Sindhia, Subhedar of Ratnagiri, for stopping exercise of sorcery by persons named Damle and Agashe inhabitants of a village near Pawas against each other.*]

" Complaints have reached Government that in these evil practices Narayan Agashe and other suffered immensely. It was, therefore, ordered that Parashuram Joshi who was supposed to be expert in this art should be bound over for stopping sorcery. He at first undertook to obey Government orders and counteract the evil effects caused by his practices but he failed to keep his undertaking. The Subhedar is therefore ordered to proceed to the village personally and take measures to stop the sorcery by demanding securities from these evil doers."

No. 7.

[*Letter from Madhavrao Ballal Peshwa to Bhagwantrao Dhulap, Naval Commander of the Maratha Navy, dated the 10th Jamadilawal. Arabasitain (1764).*]

" Your letter of the 2nd Jamadilawal from Bombay duly to hand, from which we learn that you have arrived with a complete fleet of 20 ships at Bombay harbour, that Janoji Dhulap is at Vijaydurg ready with his fleet and watching the movements of the Firangis, that the English and Hyder Ali

having combined together and also having won over the Sawant to their side entered the harbour of Redi with a fleet of 50 ships and are making preparations. It is now clear that the Firangis have now become hostile to us. You should therefore be on the alert to defend yourself and be ready to meet them at a proper opportunity, you should act in such a way as to make sure of success. There is no doubt that the Firangis are showing signs of unfriendliness. But you should not take any action against them until they have given you sufficient cause. Be on your guard in your own place and inform Government from time to time about the movements of the enemy."

No. 8.

[*Letter from Bajirao Raghunath to Lakshman Appaji, Secretary to his father Raghunathrao Peshwa, dated the 1st Jilhej, Sur San Saman Sabbain (A.D. 1778).]*]

After compliments. " You always write letters to my revered mother Tai Saheb (Anandi Bai) but none to me. Is this not a sufficient cause to be displeased with you? Please accept the sugar-coated sesamum that I have sent for you in honour of the Makara Sankrant. You have sent me a word that my father cannot do any thing with the help of one or two small men. It is a fact that one big man alone cannot achieve great success. But little threads joined together make a rope, which can hold in check even an infuriated elephant. Similarly you will see that the *Barbhais* (referring to the twelve ministers of Poona) had made a common cause and turned the master (Rathunathrao) a stranger to his own. If we follow their example, would his release be an impossibility? You should, therefore, chalk out a scheme by which you will be able to secure the sympathies of several people and induce them by suitable pledges to join us and thus gain our object. If this is not possible, a compromise ought to be effected in view of the circumstances. But nothing is being done and it is a shame that my father should have to lie idle with the English, simply enjoying their hospitality. My worthy father has earned the reputation of a great soldier and I hear so many stirring stories of his valiant exploits just like those of the heroes of the great epics [Mahabharat and Ramayan]. It is a pity that such a great soldier should have to put up with the English and rot in their custody owing to adverse circumstances. Really speaking he is by nature very spirited but is rendered helpless by the unfavourable times. I am a child and it is not proper that I should transgress my limits. If I do so, my father will say: ' I am already sufficiently tired of the remonstrances of my wife and here is her son who is also following in her foot-steps.' You should therefore read out my letter to my father when he is in the proper mood and let me know what he will say. Please convey my humble respects to him and present him the seeds of sesamum."

No. 9.

Letter from Bajirao Raghunath Pradhan Peshwa of Poona to Appaji Ram.

“ After compliments:—“ The Brahmins in the District of Baglan have been ordered not to receive money from a bride's father in any marriage ceremony. If any body disobeys the orders, the Government will impose by way of fine the following amounts of fines:—

- (A) One who will receive money for his daughter will have to pay double the amount.
- (B) One who will offer money to the bride's father will have to pay an equal amount to Government.
- (C) The money paid to any agent for negotiating such transactions will have to be remitted to Government.

Strict orders should be issued to this effect to all castes of Brahmans, Zamindars, religious heads, priests, Joshis, Patils and Kulkarnis. If any body disobeys the orders, he should be made to pay the aforesaid amounts as fine. These amounts should be credited to Government without causing extra expense. If any balance remains with any person, he should be driven away from the town with his family and should not be allowed to re-enter and meet his relations. If you fail to execute these orders, you will be dismissed from Government service.”

No. 10.

Order from Pant Pradhan to the Shetes and Mahajans of the following Peths in Poona in the year 1806:—

1. Raviwar Peth.
2. Somwar Peth.
3. Mangalwar Peth.
4. Budhwar Peth.
5. Shaniwar Peth.
6. Nagesh *alias* Nihal Peth.
7. Hanmant Peth.
8. Shukrawar Peth.
9. Narayan Peth.
10. Narsipura Peth.
11. Ganj Peth.
12. Bhavani Peth.
13. Navapura *alias* Ghasiram Peth.
14. Ganesh Peth.

" You are hereby informed that the managements of these Peths was formerly entrusted to Khanderao Nilkanth, whose services have now been dispensed with and Government have taken charge of the management. A Huzur Karkun will be appointed by Government to look after the work. You should take cognisance of his appointment and pay the dues regularly."

From these letters it will be evident that the Chitnishi papers are worth publishing, as they are sure to add supplementary information on several minor details which will be useful to the future historian. These papers have been already copied at private expense and only await publication. But the only difficulty is that the necessary funds are lacking, and one individual cannot afford both to sacrifice time and undergo the expense of publication. It is therefore hoped that Government or some philanthropic public body will come forward to help the cause of history. As regards English records and other important portions of the Poona Dafta I do not wish to make any observations here as my learned friend Prof. Rawlinson has given the benefit of his deep studies on the subject.

Some Notes on the Records in the Poona Dafta.

(By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S.)

The Poona Dafta was originally the repository which contained archives or registries and accounts which used to be kept at the seat of the Peshwas' Government. In it were preserved all the details of the receipt and expenditure of the revenues of the Maratha Empire, the expenses of the troops, establishments, Inams, and every other monetary transaction. The Maratha Empire at its zenith extended from Kanara to Hindustan, and included a large number of Prants or directly governed areas, besides tributary States. Hence the records quickly assumed a vast bulk and a complicated character, which was only understood by the hereditary Dafta Karkuns, amongst whom it was the custom for the son to serve his apprenticeship in the Dafta under his father who instructed him how to find his way about the mazes of the labyrinth. The Peshwas' Dafta has gone through many vicissitudes, which is natural when we remember the brief and tempestuous career of the Maratha State, the burning of palaces, the incursions of Pindaris, wars civil and external, to say nothing of the ravages of white-ants, vermin, and a tropical climate. The Peshwas' records begin in 1729, and are tolerably complete up to 1757. From 1757 to 1763, there is a blank, the papers having been burnt in the civil wars which broke out on the death of Balaji Bajirao.

The Daftar was completely reorganised by the genius of the great Nana Farnavis (1765-1796) and stored in the Shanwar Wada. Under the arbitrary and capricious rule of Baji Rao II, it was again allowed to fall into neglect, and when the Shanwar Wada was burnt it was dispersed to various private residences. It was found in a state of great disorder by Elphinstone in 1817, and it was only the fidelity and intelligence of the Daftar Karkuns which enabled him to rearrange it. After the second destruction by fire of the Shanwar Wada in 1827, the records were stored in Khasgivala's Wada and afterwards in Nana's Wada, the old Palace of Nana Farnavis, and were removed to the present Alienation Office in 1890. Other records were afterwards added, and the contents of the Daftar are now as follows:—

	Rumals.
Shahu Raja's Daftar (1703-1818)	56
Peshwas' Daftar (1720-1818)	9,880
Deccan Commissioners (1818-1826)	171
Agent to the Sardars (1818-1856)	16
Angria's Sardars (1790-1840)	761
Satara Residency (1818-1840)	4,920
Jamao Daftar	8,535
Inam Commission	2,370
Hakk Commission	163
Land alienation registers	198
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Total (with miscellaneous unlisted papers) . . .	27,070

These rumals consist of bundles of 500 to 2,000 papers each, long narrow unbound strips of a most diverse and miscellaneous character. To these we must add the English records, of which the most important are the Poona Residency records 1779-1818, and the Satara Residency records 1818-1848.

I will deal, first, with the most important of these, the Peshwas' Daftar. It consists of 780 rumals of Diaries, 806 rumals of Ghadnis, 5,227 rumals of Prant Ajmases or Revenue Demands, including Talebands or receipts, and a large number of miscellaneous papers, referring to Paga or Stables, etc.

In order to understand the precise nature of these records, however, we must first consider the organization of the old Poona Secretariat. This consisted of about 200 karkuns or secretaries, controlled by a Farnavis or Chief Secretary. It was divided into two departments, the Chalte or travelling Daftar, which followed the Farnavis, and dealt with general administrative questions, and the Ek-Beriji Daftar, which was the Accountant General's Office and concerned itself with Finance. The first business of this department was the preparation of the Ajmas or Revenue demand for each Prant.

This is best illustrated by taking a concrete example, say the Budget of the Poona Prant for 1791-2 (Madhavrao II).

Here we have:—

	Rs.
Gross demand	3,85,013
Deductions (alienations, etc.)	2,51,396
Gross balance	1,33,617
Deduct for Salaries	66,941
Add arrears	{ 66,676
	15,528
Net Revenue balance	82,204

At the close of the year, the actual receipts and expenditure were compiled in Talebands, which were submitted by the Subedar to the Ek-Beriji or Accountant General's Office and minutely audited. Thus we find in the year in question that the actual revenue collection for the Poona Prant was Rs. 90,943, Rs. 42,673 having been remitted on account of famine. On the other hand, Rs. 14,675 were collected on account of arrears of previous years. The Subedar, however, by judicious borrowing, had been able to remit to Poona the full sum of Rs. 20,000, leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 11,081.

From the Talebands were compiled the Tarjama, or grand annual account of Imperial revenue and expenditure. Thus the Tarjama of 1791-2 shews a gross receipt for the current year of Rs. 2,31,09,067, and an expenditure of Rs. 2,05,94,295.

Some of the items of expenditure are interesting. Under the Huzur charges, we find

Personal account of the Peshwa.

	Rs.
Personal emoluments	93,642
Artillery	3,70,301
Household expenses	1,64,023
Headquarters establishment (including troops)	76,06,575
TOTAL	82,34,541

Charities accounted for over 23 lakhs, making the total amount more than a crore. Other charges for the year were—

	Rs.
Expenses on account of the Satara Raja	3,84,204
Salaries of Sar karkuns (Mantri, Judge, etc.)	2,45,715
Salaries of Military Commanders	2,01,048
Upkeep of forts	10,91,804
Navy	4,863
	<hr/>
	19,27,634

I merely quote these figures, taken at random, to illustrate the value of the Daftar records to the student of Indian Economics, particularly of wages under the old Raj, and to indicate roughly the nature of the material he may expect to find there.

We may now turn to the most important and voluminous section of the Daftar, *viz.*, the Peshwas' Diary, or Huzur Rozkird, *i.e.*, Headquarter Day Book. This consists of four parts, *viz.*, Potas, Rawa-Sudgis, Dafatas and Ghadnis, which may be briefly described as follows:—

- (1) The Pota was the day book of Headquarter receipts and expenditure. The details of the Huzur account given above will be found in the Pota for the year 1791-2.
- (2) The Rawa-Sudgi was a register of the Mahal Mazkar or Warats, *i.e.*, cash orders on the Treasuries of the Prant Officers or Chiefs, in favour of pensioners and other creditors.
- (3) The Dafata or day book was the Diary proper. Here all the orders of the Government on important matters were recorded. In addition, every Mutalik or officer entrusted with plenary authority, kept his own Dafata.
- (4) The Ghadni, by which the Dafata could be checked, was a classified list under different headings of the orders issued during the year, forming a duplicate or index of the diary in a form very convenient for reference. These documents in all occupy 6,807 "Rumals."

Besides the diaries, ajmases, talebands, tarjamas, etc., the most important documents are the Chitnisi letters, which occupy 57 "rumals," and consist of correspondence received and filed in the Peshwas' Secretariat.

Next in importance, from the historical point of view, to the Peshwas' records, are those of the Satara Raja, commonly known as Shahu Raja's

Daftars. These records begin with the year 1703 and go down to 1818, when the kingdom of Satara came under the over-lordship of the British. It is disappointing to note that all the earlier state papers, including those of the great Shivaji, have disappeared; probably they were burnt or removed when Aurangzib took Raigarh, the original seat of the Maratha Government in 1689. The papers of the period 1689-1708 are also unaccounted for. After the death of Shahu in 1750, when the Peshwas became the real masters of the Maratha Empire, these papers are of minor historical interest, and the same may be said of the papers of the Satara Residency from 1818 to the lapse of the kingdom of Satara to the British in 1848. The other records in the alienation office, the Angria and Ratnagiri Daftars, the Inam Commissioner's records, etc., are similarly of little general interest. An exception, however, must be made as regards the 26 "rumals" of the archives of the Poona Residency. This consists of the files of inward and outward correspondence between the successive Residents of Poona and the Government of Bombay, 1779-1815. This fortunately escaped from the burning of the Sangam by the Marathas in November 1817, the eve of the battle of Kirkee, which is so graphically described by Grant Duff in his History (Vol. III, p. 427), when many of Elphinstone's precious papers perished. It bears signs of having been used by Grant Duff and Elphinstone, and Mr. C. A. Kincaid who looked into it in 1908, reports on it as "extremely valuable and interesting. It contains every variety of document, from letters of French spies at Mysore to letters of Lord Cornwallis and despatches of Sir Arthur Wellesley." Here is, then, a valuable and almost unexplored field of research of comparatively limited area. May we not ask Government to make a start by calendaring and printing selections from these archives?

We will now turn back to the vernacular records and the steps which have been taken to make them accessible for research-workers. And first of all let us make ourselves quite clear on one point. It has often been alleged that the Daftars contain mysterious historical treasures of untold value, e.g., the report of Madhav Rao Peshwa on the battle of Panipat, or of Nana Farnavis on the death of Narayan Rao Peshwa. This is not the case. There are few if any actual historical documents in the collection. The documents here preserved deal almost entirely with financial and administrative matters. The political correspondence and reports such as were mentioned above, were kept by the Ministers concerned in their own wades; treaties, etc., were lodged in the Ratna Shala or jewellery department. On the other hand, the amount of indirect information, historical, economic and social, contained in the archives is very great indeed, as may be seen from the use made of them by Ranade in his all-too brief survey of the Maratha system of Government which forms the introduction to Wad's Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries, and later, by Prof. Sen in his recent work on the History of Maratha Administration. They may be compared, *mutatis mutandis*, with the English Rolls of the Pipe, which throw such a vast amount of light upon the Revenue of

the Crown, Crown lands, and other matters relating to the Exchequer in England.

Attempts to catalogue and arrange the archives on an improved system have been made from the time of Mountstuart Elphinstone to the present day, but without much success. This is mainly due to two factors,—the vast amount of the material, and the miscellaneous contents of each "rumal." Thus the Peshwas' Daftar contains over 11,000 "rumals." Some of these "rumals" contain as much as 2,000 documents, and each would take several days to peruse; but even supposing that the staff of clerks and indexers which was set to work completed two "rumals" a day, and worked 300 days in the year, it would take nearly 20 years to look through this Daftar alone. It must be remembered, moreover, that this work is not such as could be entrusted only to clerks; unless it were supervised by properly trained experts, the result would be worse than useless. Then there are the complications arising from the miscellaneous nature of the documents collected together in a single "rumal," making it impossible to classify each "rumal" as a single item. Rumal 45 of the Ghadni division, for instance, which was supposed to deal with *Watans*, when examined by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, was found to contain, *inter alia* :—

- (1) Permission to one Bhikhu Naik to sell Bombay Duck above the Ghats.
- (2) An acknowledgment of a receipt from the Patil of Sakore for the skin and jhul of a Government camel which had died in his village.
- (3) An acknowledgment of a receipt for 15 Sanskrit MSS. purchased in Udaipur, and so forth.

This, of course, infinitely complicates the task of indexing and cataloguing the papers.

So far, the principal work in the way of publishing documents from the Poona Daftar has been done by Mr. G. C. Wad, who published 9 volumes of selections from the Peshwas' Daftar, covering the whole period, 1708-1817. Some idea of the stupendous size of the whole Daftar may be gleaned, when we realize that these selections, which are only a fraction of the whole, occupy 2,000 folio pages. Similar selections from the Shahu Raja's Daftar by the same gentleman were published by R. B. Parasniv in 1904. R. B. Parasniv has also published selections from the chitnisi records in the *Itihas Sangraha*. These are simply invaluable for the study of Maratha history and administration, and probably skim the cream off the records. But it must be remembered that they represent only a small, though representative, portion of the original documents, which literally number hundreds of thousands. This method also suffers from the inevitable disadvantage, that what the editor thinks unimportant, may, from another point of view, be of great value. If

for example the person in charge of the selection is a historian, he will omit documents of purely economic interest, and *vice versa*. On the other hand, I must confess that the task of preparing even a handlist of all the documents, in the Peshwas' Daftar alone, appears to me to be a work of such magnitude and complexity, that it would occupy a small army of trained whole-time workers for several years to carry it out. And to turn workers on Maratha History loose among this vast mass of papers unless they were thoroughly acquainted with the complicated and ingenious method of classification carried on from the days of Nana Farnavis, would be perfectly useless.

I think then that it is up to the Historical Commission to make concrete suggestions to Government upon the subject, but the suggestions should be made with due regard to the nature of the materials, their magnitude, and the financial stringency, which would scarcely permit a very large expenditure on the work. It is obviously a task which could only be entrusted to whole-time workers. Personally, I am inclined to think that particularly valuable results would be obtained from an investigation of the archives from an economic point of view. And I should also suggest that the first undertaking to be urged upon Government would be the publication of selections from the records of the British Residency at Poona. These have the advantage of being comparatively limited in size, and not having been examined already, at any rate in recent times, they are likely to yield the most valuable results. Secondly, we want a good handbook describing the contents of the Daftar, like the Guide to the India Office records by Foster, the Reports on the Madras Records by Dodwell, or Kindersley's handbook of the Bombay Records. It is impossible to make handlists of the whole Daftar, and besides, vernacular handlists or Ferists exist already.

I must here close a very brief contribution to a very vast subject. I hope, however, that I have succeeded in clearing up a few misconceptions and misunderstandings about the nature of the Poona Daftar. For those who wish to study the matter more deeply there are the earlier reports of Candy and Etheridge and the admirable note of Mr. A. C. Logan of 1905. And finally there are the excellent papers read before this Commission by R. B. Parasnath in 1919, and by Mr. R. K. Ranadive last year at Madras.

Some Suggestions for Stabilising the Settlement of the Land Revenue in Bengal previous to 1786.

(By R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B. Litt.)

The idea of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue of Bengal, which became prominent in 1776, has generally been thought to be the product of the political intuition of Sir Philip Francis who, in accordance with

the provisions of the Act 13 Geo. iii, took his seat on November 1st, 1774, as a member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta. One problem which, among others, called for that Body's urgent investigation was the efficient and equitable collection of the Land Revenue.

It will be remembered that in 1765 the Diwani of Bengal was granted by the Emperor Shah Alam to the East India Company in perpetuity. The Company, when accepting the office, appointed as their Naib, or Deputy, Mohamed Reza Khan who was already Naib Nazim for the infant Nawab-i-Nazim Mobarak-ul-Daulah.

In the hope of securing disinterested and capable service, the enormous salary of nine lakhs was attached to the post. The arrangement was not successful; there is now every reason to think that Mohamed Reza Khan was a very much better and abler officer than the Company was willing to admit; that however, is outside the scope of this paper. The control of the revenue administration was taken from him and eventually invested in a Committee drawn from members of the Governor's Council, and presided over by the Governor: this Committee was generally known as the Board.

The information which reached the Board during the years 1773 and 1774 of the state and the methods of collecting the land revenue was extremely distressing. The methods, for which the Board was chiefly responsible, included wholesale farming by public auction of the collections and placed such collections for a period of five years in the hands, for the most part, of speculators. The assessment made in 1772 was, from ignorance and other causes, seriously excessive. The districts had fallen hopelessly into arrears; and chaos invaded the entire land revenue system.

The Board received from its senior officers in the districts a frank and faithful account of the prevailing distress and confusion, and some admirable suggestions for improving and stabilising matters. Among these suggestions was a recommendation from the Council of Revenue at Patna giving in considerable detail a picture of the distress in their province and recommending a settlement of the province on long or perpetual leases. The letter was dated December 17th, 1772*.....

* Revenue Board Proceedings, pages 627-633, January 29th, 1773.

“Having been under the necessity of representing to you the desolate condition of this province, it remains that we submit to your consideration our sentiments on the measures which seem best calculated to produce a remedy. It has been successfully practised by the Hindustan Princes that where a particular district has gone to ruin to give it to the Zamindar or any other man of known good conduct for a long course of years or in perpetuity at a fixed rent, not to be increased should even the industry of the renter raise an unexpected average to himself. This plan might be adopted either in the fixing of a small zamindari or renting of an extensive district. A moderate annual income might be taken until the revenue

arose to the highest rate which the taluk or pargana yielded in any year since our acquisition of the Diwani and then it might remain fixed for the renter's life. Indeed, in some cases where the difference is very great, it might be necessary to extend the lease to the life of the son.....Every man might then consider the lands he rented as his own secure estate.....We find that villages held mokarari (*i.e.*, at a fixed rent) by officers of influence in the Government are the only ones which bear any proportion to their former value."

The Board, in their reply, dated January 29th, 1773,* considered the suggestion to be too hazardous for immediate application; but they seized the

* Revenue Board Proceedings, pages 836-633, 29th January 1773. opportunity to advocate a five years settlement. "Leases for a long period of years we are morally certain will prove bene-

cial to the country.....but we think they may be extended too far by making them perpetual.....The same grounds on which you build your expediency of perpetual leases induced us to fix a period of five years for those of Bengal, and this we think sufficient to obtain an increase in the collections, and an improvement in the population of the country and this mode we incline to approve for the province of Bihar....."

The confidence of the Board was in reality the confidence of its President. Mr. Hastings had an overwhelming authority among his own Council previous to its reconstitution in November 1774. On that Council were men of much wider revenue experience and greater ability in revenue matters than himself. For some reasons, that are not apparent, their views did not receive attention, nor indeed, do they appear to have been uttered until the Board was re-constituted and strengthened by the addition of what may be termed non-service elements, *i.e.*, men who did not depend for their career on the Court of Directors. Be that as it may, Mr. Hastings, with the mute but unanimous agreement of his Council, sent frequent and peremptory instructions to the district officers to recover arrears that were irrecoverable. These orders caused much confusion and no small amount of oppression. Senior officers in the districts like Messrs. Baber and Bently told the Board plainly that it was the system which was at fault, and that no satisfactory returns could be made until this was altered. To alter the system would mean a confession that the Committee of Circuit, and more especially, the Governor himself had been in error, and to admit an error was, at any rate before 1775, not in Mr. Warren Hastings' nature. But the deficits or "balances" as they were then called, were increasing terribly, and on October 23rd, eight days before the Reconstituted Council met for the first time, a letter was circulated by the Board to the Chiefs of the Provincial Councils requiring their answers to a series of questions on the unsatisfactory state of the land revenue. Among those who replied were Messrs. George Vansittart, Samuel Middleton, P. M. Dacres, G. Hurst and Richard Barwell.

Of these gentlemen, the evidence of Messrs. Vansittart and Dacres is the most arresting. Both of them press for a great increase in the length of the term of settlement. Mr. Vansittart wrote.....“ The most effectual mode for the prevention of balances would be to let the lands on such terms that in case of one person’s failure another would be glad to pay the arrears and go

* The word “farm” is used throughout this paper as the equivalent of “Ijara.”

† Governor-General’s Proceedings, pages 271-279, January 27th, 1775.

on with the lease, and this perhaps would be the case if the farms* were granted proportionally to their actual values at a fixed rent for life, either to the Zamindars themselves or to other persons as circumstances might direct.†.....

Mr. Dacres concurred with Mr. Vansittart in his diagnosis of the causes of the failure of the collections, but he went further in his suggested remedies. His reply contained a damning indictment of the system of putting the farms up to public auction, and he adds “to remedy these evils and restore the country to a flourishing state there is but one effectual method;—it cannot obviate the annual burden arising from the exports of the Company’s investments but it will enable it better to support it;—grant the raiyats a total remission of the taxes which have been accumulating on their payments for these fifteen or twenty years past; let a settlement be made with the Zamindars fixing the rent to perpetuity, and trust to a sale of their property as a security for their payments.” The writer admitted that his proposals could not be introduced wholesale, and that they were in the nature of an experiment, but he adds that “a trial on howsoever circumscribed a scale, I am satisfied, would produce in a degree the good effects wished for; I mean that the measure of letting out the lands to perpetuity should be uniformly observed and the remission of the taxes of the raiyats granted in proportion as the state and condition of the respective districts might require.....”

The letter was dated February 10th, 1775, and was embodied in the proceedings of the Governor General for April 7th, 1775.

A final example of the advice submitted by senior members of the Company’s service to conclude a permanent settlement is taken from the evidence given before the Board in July 1775, by Mr. G. G. Ducarel, who was at that time Superintendent of the Khalsa, and who had been Collector of Purnea: his evidence was given on the decay of the land revenue in Purnea, and in reply to a question from the Governor General he gave his reasons for this decay and added, “I am fully of opinion that a person of experience with discretionary power might render great service to the Company by effecting a permanent settlement in the most eligible mode according to local and particular circumstances, and upon an equitable valuation..... There are some parganas where the Zamindars are capable and have such a natural interest with their tenants that it would be most advantageous to make the

settlement with them on a long lease. There are others.....where the settlement must be made either with inferior taluqdars or with the ryots themselves, if possible, upon a fixed and permanent rent.....The plan itself may appear very difficult to execute from the greatness of the detail; but I know it to be practicable, if the ryots can be brought to give their consent, from the experience I have had in a partial trial.*

* Governor-General's Proceedings, 18th July 1775. Out of India, also the same idea was finding expression. Colonel Dow in a chapter attached to his history of Hindustan published in 1772, advocated a settlement in perpetuity with the Zamindars. (This chapter is entitled " an enquiry into the state of Bengal "—Dow, 2nd Edition, p. CXIX.)

In the same year a pamphlet was published by H. Patullo advocating similar measures. (Vide Firminger, i. p. CCIX, note.)

It will be admitted therefore that a lengthy or permanent settlement of the land revenue was a remedy which was proposing itself to thoughtful minds among the Company's senior officers, before the influence of Sir Philip Francis could make itself felt, and Sir Philip Francis, in his famous proposals, does little more than borrow without acknowledgment the remedies suggested by Mr. P. M. Dacres. In fact, so far had the idea of a lengthy settlement forced itself upon the Board that the plan of Messrs. Hastings and Barwell, published in March 1776, contained suggestions for a settlement with the Zamindars on the basis of two lives, and this plan was published before Sir Philip Francis brought his views formally before the Board. The deeper the study of the records of the land revenue collections of that period, the more convincing is the proof that the European district officer of the Company lacked neither humanity nor administrative ability. Of the remedies adopted by the Central Government those that proved to be beneficial were, almost without exception, the result of suggestions and advice received from experienced district officers of the Company. The chief flaws which remained in the system of collecting the land revenue after the settlement had been declared permanent, had been foreseen by the more experienced of the Company's officers, and were embodied in the Legislation against their advice. They were left to bear the burden of the mistakes which others had made, and to see others assume the credit for measures which their knowledge of the country had suggested, and their ability carried out.

" Sic vos non vobis aedificatis aves."

The Bakhair of Rama Raja.

(By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D.)

This is a document purporting to be written by one Ramji Tirumal who was in attendance at the court of Vijayanagar on the eve of the battle of

Talikota. No more is known of him from the document. The name is clearly a Mahratha name. The language of the document is a popular form of Kanarese, very far from the literary idiom, and even from that of the Kanarese of purely Kanarese speaking people. Apart from the mere mixture of foreign terms it gives clear evidence that the writer is a foreigner writing the language owing to official exigencies. He has made the effort to the best of his accomplishments. This character of the language is a clear indication that he was the agent of a court where the official language was Kanarese. He was probably an agent of one of the subordinate states of the Empire attached to the Imperial Headquarters.

There is a *Bakhair* on this subject in Mahratti, and the question naturally arises whether the Mahratti document or the Kanarese is the original. Not having access to the Mahratti as yet, and judging only from the Kanarese record, the latter does not seem to be a translation, but appears to have been written in original in Kanarese itself. I am informed that the Mahratti paper published already is but an abridged abstract of this paper, but a little more investigation is required for a definite opinion upon this question.

The document in question begins with the arrival of a *Mahaldar* (divisional officer) of Bijapur in the court of Vijayanagar conveying messages of importance from the Adil Shah to the court of Vijayanagar. The two courts were on friendly terms, and the ambassador was hospitably received and accommodated in the *Anandamahal* palace. A few days after, the ambassador sought and obtained audience, and when it was over the court adjourned to witness a performance in acrobatics by a troupe of Telugu Dombars. Ramaraja was pleased with the troupe and ordered presents of various kinds. The troupe however, sought the favour of two full grown pigs being presented to them as these people regarded pork as a dainty apparently. The Mussalman ambassador started moralizing upon the unworthiness of the Hindu religion which permitted its votaries, however humble in station, eating such filthy flesh. Ramaraja was apparently a man who had something of the humorous in him, and he asked in reply if it was permissible for Muhammadans to eat fowl. The Mussalman ambassador assenting, he ordered a building to be vacated and pigs stalled in for the night. The ambassador was shown into the building the next morning when it was full of filth, and then a number of fowls were let in. Before evening, the building had become almost clean, and then the Raja observed that the eaters of fowls had little cause to hold in contempt those that eat pork. This was too much for the temper of the Mussalman ambassador who forgot the mission of his master and wanted to terminate his mission. Ramaraja however, persuaded him to stay on and dismissed him with due ceremony later.

The irate ambassador had not forgotten "the insult" and went into the court of the Adil Shah with his turban tied round his neck, and tried to persuade his master into believing that the Muslim authority was no more in that region, and no Muslim is likely to be respected so long as Vijayanagar

is allowed to stand in this position of command. The Adil Shah took a
ner view, and pointed out that he stood to Ramaraja in the position of a son,
d that he had no cause of war against him standing as he did in that
ectionate relation with him.

The Mahaldar took his departure from Bijapur, and found more welcome
another quarter. He found the three others of the Bahmani Sultans
ider apparently not counting for much) encamped in Jahlna, and enjoying
e hospitality of the Nizam Shah. Thither he went and depicted the low
ate to which the Deccan Muslims had brought themselves by letting
maraja remain ruler of Vijayanagar. He found here more congenial
dience than at Bijapur, and succeeded in persuading the three sultans to
olve upon invading the territory of Vijayanagar with a view to reduce it
a condition tributary to the Mussalmans of the Deccan. Having resolved
make a joint invasion of the Hindu territory they sent a persuasive
bassador to the Adil Shah to influence him to join the holy cause. The
il Shah stood firm and gave this ambassador the same answer that he did
his own Mahaldar.

Meanwhile information of all that transpired in Jahlna was sent to Rama-
a by his own agent Timmaji Bhimji from Jahlna; and soon after arrived
n messenger from the agent stationed at Bijapur. The Dassara celebrations
d just come to a close. Ramaraja immediately issued a warning to all his
embled feudatories to get ready for war, and conduct themselves worthy
the Empire in the forthcoming war; and then dismissed them with the
ial presents, with more than usual liberality. He sent a special ambassador
the person of his commander-in-chief Bisalappa Nayaka to Bijapur with
h presents to Adil Shah. The Adil Shah received the embassy with due
sideration and respect, and was quite pleased with the presents and showed
same friendly spirit that he did on previous occasions. The manner of
option of this embassy and the re-assertion of the same friendly relations
ween the Adil Shah and Ramaraja were duly communicated to the Sultans
their agents in Bijapur. They sent another ambassador to point out to
n the unworthiness and danger of a Musselman ruler being in alliance with
Hindu ruler as against his brethren. He was instructed to communicate
h them that the three sultans were determined to march upon Vijayanagar,
d that, if the Adil Shah failed to co-operate with them, they would none
less march through his territories against Vijayanagar. The Adil Shah
nted out in reply that at that time the Hindu ruler was in a most powerful
sition and the three sultans would do well to deliberate before taking
ion. Bisalappa Nayaka returned with information of all that took place
Bijapur and kept his master fully informed of the coming invasion. In
council held in consequence, the council unanimously tendered him the
vice that he should forestall the invasion of Vijayanagar territory and meet
enemy across his frontier. Ramaraja issued orders accordingly and sent
ward the advance portion of the army. He then went into the palace to

take permission of his mother and queens. He took leave of his queens first, and then went to his mother who advised peaceful negotiations which he did not accept.

The next morning he ordered a general muster of all his troops, with the requisite treasure, and set forward on the march. The army marched across the river and occupied the country on the other side to a distance of eight *gavudas* (fifty to sixty miles), along the bank of the river pushing forward pickets and advance posts almost up to the Krishna. The king himself fixed his camp between the townlets of Tavaragere and Krishnagiri. The Nizam Shah with the Governor of Daulatabad encamped himself near the river Krishna at Firozabad otherwise Sultanpur. Jalaluddin Akbar Padusha encamped himself at Daggada (Durgada), Mahiber Himbal Kutub Shah fixed his camp between Raichur and Mudgal; while Imam-ul-mulk and Ali Adil Shah fixed their camp at Jamalgar near the river Krishna. The light troops belonging to all the Mussalman armies had already crossed the Krishna river and had been committing depredations in the territory of Vijayanagar. The feudatories of the Hindu empire that had arrived at the head of the armies fixed, under the orders of the emperor, their camp at a place called Rakshas-Tangadi. Ramaraja also sent forward a considerable portion of his own troops to the advance post at Rakshasa-Tangadi.

Information of these movements was sent to the four Padushas who ordered a forward movement and took up a position within striking distance of Rakshasa-Tangadi. Then began the battle between the advance posts which gradually developed into full battle which lasted for three days and still remained indecisive. The Nizam Shah's troops and the Kutub Shah's troops acquitted themselves well and gave satisfaction to their rulers; while the Adil Shah and his ally who is called here Bahim-ul-mulk remained inactive, only making a show of fight, if the Hindu army attacked them. In consequence Ramaraja sent Dalavai Girappa and Jamadar Khanipavadi Nayaka to the Adil Shah to point out to him that it was not fair that he should join other Mussalman rulers and carry on war against the Hindu Emperor who brought him up almost like a son, and provided for his milk money, the three fortresses of Raichur, Mudgal and Adoni. The Adil Shah protested that he did not enter the war of his own accord, and that the war was forced upon him by the other three entering his territory and cutting their way across forests and hills without his permission. He had no alternative but to join them. He admitted, however, that it was through evil counsel after all that he entered the war, and sent the usual return embassy. Information of these transactions however reached the Nizam Shah at Daulatabad, the Kutub Shah at Golkonda and Akbar Jalal-ud-din Mughal at Jahlna. Having consulted together, these three sent to the Adil Shah the following ultimatum; "you joined us in the invasion against the Hindu territory, and now you are holding diplomatic relations with the Hindu ruler. If you will not adopt a more friendly attitude towards us and join us in the war, we shall declare

war against you as well." The Adil Shah in fear of the consequences sent word that their resolution was his resolution and that he would join heartily in the enterprise.

While these transactions were taking place here, Ramaraja changed his headquarters to Rakshasa-Tangadi and established his camp there. Then began another battle which lasted for 27 days. Fresh Muhammadan armies arrived and took their position in the plains of Talikota. The battle on the 27th day lasted till the 9th hour of the night and still remained undecided. The Principal leaders and Princes in the Hindu army came out to Ramaraja and pointed out to him the futility and wastefulness of this kind of warfare. They suggested breaking up into separate division, each division carrying the war against particular parts of the enemy's army. They also pointed out that both the Adil Shah and Imad-ul-mulk were not hearty in the fight and were merely making a show. He adopted their suggestions and sent out his army to attack in separate divisions and then the battle began again. Jalal-id-din Akbar fell back upon the Nizam Shah's forces. The two together fought against the Hindu forces and both of them were pressed back. Some of them fell back upon their camp. Then Ramaraja wished to press the advantage home and mounted his elephant Rājahamsāmrta, and marched into the field directing operations in person. Then the battle went on for 3 days, going into the 9th hour of the night on the last day. This time the Muhammadans were definitely defeated and had to fall back two units (about 6 to 6 miles). Taking this for a retreat the army slackened their efforts and Ramaraja himself ceased to press the advantage home. The three Padushas in the contrary took counsel together, and sent to the Adil Shah charging him to exert himself at least now, to save the Mussalman name from extinction. Then the Adil Shah got ready, offered his third prayer for the day invoking the assistance of God for the Muhammadan cause, and fell upon the army of the Hindus, and, the three others co-operating, the Hindu camp was thrown into confusion and Ramaraja did his best to collect his army and tried to make an effective stand. In the meanwhile, he sent word to the Adil Shah pointing out the unworthiness of his action against one who brought him up like a father. He followed it up by saying that in case he should still persist in the course of action he had adopted he would at least do him one favour. He requested the Adil Shah to shoot him with his gun and kill him, and thus save him from falling into the hands of his enemies, the three other Padushas, and prepared himself for being shot. After some deliberation the Adil Shah resolved to do so and shot him dead. When news of this reached the Hindu camp the army broke up, some of them fleeing to Vijayanagar. The three other Padushas were delighted that their enemies were no more effective, and the Muhammadan armies engaged themselves in plundering the camps of the Hindus. When news of Ramaraja's death reached Vijayanagar, his mother and three of his queens put an end to themselves and the army of the three Padushas marched upon Vijayanagar,

plundered the treasury and other places where loot could be had, and marched back to their headquarters. The Adil Shah of Bijapur dismissed Akbar Jalal-ud-din with presents and sent the bones of Ramaraja to Benares for being deposited in the Ganges. He then marched upon Penukonda which he besieged. After a siege of six weeks, he left an army to conduct the siege and returned to his capital. Ramaraja's death took place, according to the Bakhair, in the year *Raktakshi, Vaisakha Bahula 8, Monday Sravana Nakshatra*.

The above is a more or less free summarised account of the Bakhair as it is, and does not pretend to be a regular translation which will be given on a future occasion from the original manuscript itself, comparing it with the Mahrati Bakhair, if possible. We shall offer some remarks upon the historical part of the document now and enter into a brief discussion as to its historical bearings.

Readers of Sewell's "*Forgotten Empire*" will find, on referring to Chapter XV that his account is based on the Muhammadan historians, Ferishta and the anonymous historian of the Kutub Shahi; and the Portuguese writer Couto differs materially in very many particulars. Omitting the minutiae and having regard only to the incidents leading to the decisive event, the first point that calls for attention is who it was that was really responsible for the coalition of the Muhammadan Princes. According to the Bakhair translated above, the actual responsibility for the combination rests with the Mahaldar of Bijapur, while the Adil Shah is exhibited throughout as having been steadily loyal in his alliance with the Hindu ruler. Ferishta makes the coalition originate with the Adil Shah himself, who having resolved to bring about the coalition sent his councillor Kishwur Khan Lary to take steps to bring about the coalition. He sent an embassy forthwith to the Kutub Shah, and subsequently to the Nizam Shah as well (Brigg's *Firishtah* III, pages 123 to 126). The anonymous Muhammadan writer whom Briggs translated in the same volume ascribes the authorship of this effort to Ibrahim Kutub Shah (*vide* Briggs III, pages 412-413). The Kutub Shah is credited with having brought about the alliance sealed by a double Marriage between the Nizam Shah and the Adil Shah, the fact of which is testified to by Ferishta himself. On the other hand the Nizam Shahi historian Sayid Ali ascribes the credit to Hussain Nizam Shah although he agrees that it was the Kutub Shah's ambassador that conducted the negotiations with the Adil Shah. (*Indian Antiquary* for 1921, page 143ff.) There is no mention of the whole of this transaction in the Bakhair of Ramji Tirumal. What is more, almost up to the end of the battle the Adil Shah kept hovering according to this account between his allegiance to his friend, the Hindu ruler, and his obligation to his colleagues of the Deccan.

The next point calling for attention is the actual place of battle. Mr. Sewell has a note on page 199 of his book (the reprint) that the battle did not take place at Talikota, but many miles south of the River Krishna,

Talikota being situated twenty-five miles north of the river. He remarks "The Battle took place ten miles from Ramaraja's camp south of the river, wherever that may have been. There is no available information on the point, but it was probably at Mudkal, the celebrated fortress." He offers the suggestion that the battle might actually have taken place at or about the little village called Bayapur or Bhogapur on the road leading from Ingalgi to Mudkal. The Bakhair on the contrary, makes it clear that the first camp of the Muhammadans, as in fact their main camp afterwards, remained round Talikota. But he makes it clear none the less that no engagement of a war like character took place in that vicinity. He makes the further point clear that Ramaraja's headquarters were fixed at a place called Tavaragere near the north bank of the Tungabhadra, and a part of his army and the contingents were ordered to fix their camp at Rākshasatangadi to which he himself moved his headquarters at a later stage of the war. The battles were actually fought about ten miles from his camp at Rākshasatangadi; it would be somewhere about twenty miles south of the river Krishna and almost fifty miles from where Talikota is. Further than that the Bakhair gives the disposition of the Muhammadan armies. The Nizam Shah's headquarters were at Firuzabad, otherwise, Sultanpur. Jalal-ud-din Akbar Moghul as he is sometimes called, was not the Moghul Emperor as he is taken to be; he was apparently a feudatory of Bijapur. The term "Moghul" attached to his name signified the party of foreign Muhammadans in the Deccan at the time, as opposed to the two other parties, the Abyssinians called the Habshi, and the Indian Muhammadans called the Deccan. He fixed his camp between Raichur and Mudkal; while Imam-ul-mulk and the Adil Shah fixed their camp at Jamalgarh near the Krishna on the road to Bijapur. Somewhere within the curve of this semi-circle must have been Rākshasatangadi and the scene of the battle must have been within the segment marked by the camp of the Muhammadans and a straight line drawn through Rākshasatangadi. It is worth noting here that this is what is corrupted into Rakshitta Gundee in Maharati MSS. according to Duff. (Hist. of Mahrattas, Vol. I, p. 59, Cambray's Edition.)

In regard to the date of the battle, Mr. Sewell takes it on the authority of both the Muhammadan chronicles, *viz.*, the anonymous history of the Kutub Shahi and Ferishta's history, to be some date in January 1565, the actual day being Tuesday, 23rd January (Tuesday being the week day according to him), whereas Ferishta fixed the day as Friday, the 20th of *Jamad-oos-sany* A. H. 927. According to Sayid Ali's *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, this victory was won on Friday *Jumadi-ul-akhir* A. H. 972, January 4th, 1565 (*Indian Antiquary* 1921, page 194). The day given in the Bakhair for the death of Ramaraja is the year *Raktākshi*, the month of *Visāka*, 8th day, the dark fortnight, *Monday Sravana Nakshatra*. According to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's Ephemeris the year *Raktākshi* began on Tuesday, the 28th March 1564 according to the solar reckoning; the lunar year began

on Monday the 13th March 1564. The month of *Visāka* began on Wednesday, the 10th April of the same year. According to the same author, *Bahula* 8th will fall on Tuesday, the 8th of May; whereas if Monday be taken as correct it would be the 5th *idem*. As the *Nakshatra Sravana* falls on Monday the 5th of May, I am rather inclined to prefer that the actual day of the year is *Visāka Bahula*, 5th, Monday *Sravana Nakshatra*, as, in the Kanarese script, 5 can easily be corrupted into looking like 8, and a mistake is easily possible. If this correction should be accepted, then the day given would answer to the day given herein 1564; the week day and the *Nakshatra* agree. If, according to Sewell, their march south from the plains of Talikota began on the 25th of December 1564, the final battle could not have taken place in January 23 following, if the details given of the various battles in the Bakhair should at all be true. Mr. Sewell's account gives only one engagement, whereas Ramji Tirumal's describes three separate engagements of which one lasted as many as 27 days. The history of the Kutub-Shahi which apparently Mr. Sewell has followed, also describes only one final engagement; and neither Firishta nor the Kutub Shahi historian, nor the Bruhan-i-Ma'asir of Sayid Ali gives the details of the other engagements given in the Bakhair. Since the war began with such determination on either side, that it should have been decided by a single engagement seems hard to believe. There are other discrepancies besides between these authorities, which have to be accounted for.

This account of Ramji Tirumal begins with the first movement towards the war during the Dassara of the previous year, *i.e.*, about the month of October 1563, when the feudatory princes received a warning to be ready. Then it was resolved to carry the war into the enemy's territory to avoid danger to his own. In accordance with this resolution, forces had to be collected and troops to be moved to their main rendezvous across the Tungabhadra. Then the emperor had to move with his own headquarters and follow the army, and then the war actually began by preliminary negotiations developing into a regular war which ceased almost at the end of about a month, and then began the final engagement which lasted for three days. All this would have involved time naturally, and the time allowed in the Bakhair seems necessary for the complicated movements implied in this account. Apart from mere movements of armies, room is wanted for diplomatic negotiations of which there were several missions, backward and forward, and the time between October and May would be well filled with all these. From the side, therefore, of the Hindu Emperor the account given by this writer strikes one as cogent and consistent dealing only with the antecedent circumstances leading to the crucial battle. For what actually were the remote causes of this crucial battle and for the movement of the Muhammadans, this account is inadequate and must be supplemented by what can be gleaned from the other historians. In some particulars the Kutub Shahi history seems to be more detailed and reliable.

The next point in which this Bakhair is somewhat definite is the fate that befell Ramaraja. According to the hitherto accepted account Ramaraja fell into the hands of the enemy at the end of a day's battle when victory actually declared for the Hindu side, and that he was decapitated by the Nizam Shah. There are also prevalent popular accounts that this catastrophe was due to the treachery of the Muhammadan contingents of the Court of Vijayanagar, chiefly based perhaps on the authority of Caesar Frederic who was at the Imperial City two years later. The Bakhair written by a Hindu *Maharata* in the court of Ramaraja does not lend colour to the first statement or the next surmise. There is no mention of the treachery of the Muhammadan contingent or contingents, and the end of Ramaraja is depicted entirely differently. In fact, the whole of the attitude of the Adil Shah* as depicted here is different from that of the Muhammadan historians from what one could make out from the two Muhammadan histories referred to above. It was the Adil Shah that was responsible for the death of Ramaraja at Raja's own request. He went so far as to have the bones of his benefactor deposited in the Ganges for the good of his soul. This is in lurid contrast to the somewhat barbarous performance ascribed to the Nizam Shah who is said to have taken vengeance upon the dead body of the Raja for the sufferings that while living he inflicted upon the Muhammadan subjects of his neighbours.

Radical differences between the accounts, however, appear in regard to the one among the Muhammadan rulers who was mainly responsible for the combination of the Muhammadan rulers. Firishta makes the Adil Shah responsible for it; the Kutub Shahi historian makes Ibrahim Kutub Shah take the initiative. The Nizam Shahi historian gives the credit to the Hussain Nizam Shah. The Bakhair on the contrary does not actually trace it to the source, but begins merely with the arrival of the Mahaldar from Bijapur. This has to be interpreted not as Ramji Tirumal not knowing it, but merely as his not treating of it in this report. The hint is conveyed to us of the assemblage of the three Muhammadan princes in Jahlna. In regard to this matter both the Hindu account and the Kutub Shahi account have to be read together. The Hindu account begins after the negotiations which brought about the combination of the three other sultans than the Adil Shah. Therefore it seems very much more likely that it was Ibrahim Kutub Shah that saw the common danger ahead and brought about the combination. It seems perfectly natural that the Adil Shah should have wavered between his loyalty to his benefactor, the Hindu Raja, and his allegiance to his colleagues of the faith.

*This account in the Bakhair seems to receive some support from what the Nizam Shahi historian states regarding the decapitation of Ramaraja. "As soon as the Adil Shah heard of the capture of Sadasiva Raya† he hastened to the spot with the design of releasing the accursed infidel; but Hussain Shah being aware that Ali Adil Shah would press for the Raja's release, which it would be folly to grant, and that a refusal to grant it would only lead to strife between the allies, and to the rupture of the alliance, issued orders for the execution of Sadasiva Raya before Ali Adil Shah could arrive."

† (This is the name by which this historian indicates Ramaraja throughout.)

The Bakhair of Ramji Tirumal describes his character exactly in those terms, and perhaps shows his character to advantage in regard to the Adil Shah's part in the battle. It was neither faint-heartedness on the part of the Adil Shah, nor mere faithlessness. It was much rather the indecisiveness of a more conscientious person who hesitated between loyalty to the faith and gratitude for the benefit received and enjoyed. The account given in the Bakhair seems credible and creditable to the Adil Shah. These are the main points that emerge from a study of the Bakhair in the light of the information we already possess, on this war of Vijayanagar against the united Muhammadans, culminating in the destruction of the Imperial city. Further research and investigation may add to the light already thrown by this new source of information, on this important event in the history of the Hindu Empire.

The Settlement of Baramahal and Salem from the records.

(By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

When Lord Cornwallis concluded the treaty with Tippu Sultan on March 17, 1792, the Ceded Districts of Salem and Baramahal were, within eighteen days after the treaty, entrusted to the organising genius of Captain Alexander Read, in preference to any of the Revenue Officials of the Madras Presidency who lacked the necessary qualifications for administering a newly annexed country. For the same reason Read chose as his assistants, Captains Munro, Graham, and McLeod to administer respectively the countries of Dharmapuri (Central division), Krishnagiri (Northern division) and Salem (Southern division). It is superfluous to write of the great qualities that Munro displayed even thus early; while the other two did work remarkably good. The Baramahal region itself occupied the northern extremity of Salem and consisted strictly speaking of 12 palaces or Mahals which included Krishnagiri. Buchanan gives us the names of the twelve Mahals; while Colonel Miles in his "*History of Hydur Naik*" speaks of the Baramahal as the "twelve *Parganas*." In 1799, on the fall of Tippu, several sections of Upper Karnatik were annexed to this district such as the taluks of Hosur, Venkatagirikota, etc., and a portion of the Allambady taluk which lies to the west of the Kaveri together with Punganur and a few other *pálayams*. Thus the three divisions came to be known as the Balaghat (really a part of the Mysore tableland); the Baramahal was an extensive basin lying between the tableland and the plains and bounded on the east by a second line of the Ghats and the Talaghat comprised Salem, Attur, and the neighbouring taluks. The land receives a share of both the monsoons and the field produce is of three main kinds; dry crops, rice and garden crops. The whole district had then an average length of about 140 and a width of about 60 to 70 miles and the total population numbered probably a million. Capt. Read who was in

charge of supplies during the campaigns of Cornwallis, fixed the date of the Treaty of 1792 as the period from which the revenue should be collected by the English Power. As early as June of that year Read proposed the idea of a lease-settlement for not less than five years and he was anxious to start immediately regular survey and settlement operations. In November of the same year the Madras Board of Revenue instructed him to lose no time in forming a settlement with the cultivators from three to five years; and they further intimated that "in case the headmen (of villages) should oppose these measures, the land might be let out in small portions to strangers". The Madras Government decided in the next month that the settlement should be for five years in the first instance as they were under the impression that the survey and assessment of the arable lands would have been completed by that time. The Board of Revenue's view of what the settlement should be is well expressed in Mr. White's Minute dated 25th March, 1793.¹ He says:—"In the Baramahal, Salem.....and such *havelly* lands to the northward as have suffered less from the effects of famine or rapacious renters, it might be eligible to take the first opportunity of settling for a long period for a permanent arrangement with the inhabitants. A thousand advantages must result from a plan of permanency not only by exciting the people to improvements but by enabling Government to effect a reduction of the revenue officers.....; by reducing in general the charges of collection, by insuring regular payment, by rendering the revenue accounts more simple and above all by putting a stop to intrigue and corrupt practices."

Thus, settlement in lease having been decided upon, an exhaustive inquiry was begun by Read and his assistants. In a paper submitted to the Board of Revenue, dated Baramahal, June 1793², Read declared that "an enquiry into the nature and progress of agriculture is the surest means of ascertaining an equitable mode of assessment and collection of land rent.... Half the produce generally whether in kind or in money is considered the right of Government. In the first endeavour to procure a revenue nearly the same every year, it must have been early discovered that the inhabitants could not afford the equivalent of half the produce of plentiful years, and that the Government would lose by only requiring that of years unproductive, which has most probably suggested the taking of half the average. In Tirupattur district the average gross produce is reckoned 75 of the dry and 87½ per cent. of the full crops. But the relative proportion is not everywhere the same.... Every plot has its standard rent which the inhabitants affirm never alters.....; both the dry and the wet grounds are distinguished into the first, second, third and fourth sorts and every sort has its standard." After describing the various modes of revenue assessment and management with remarks on each, Read gave

¹ Quoted in pp. 273-290 of Vol. II of the Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1812 (Madras Reprint, 1866).

² Letter to David Haliburton, Esq., President of the Board of Revenue; pp. 1-20 of the *Baramahal Records*, Sec. VI, Land Rent (Madras Government Press, 1918).

it as his opinion that "the arguments in favour of improvement and the certainty of revenue are however still more in favour of giving a number of villages in farm to wealthy individuals with security;" and he added; "The greater the division of the country into farms, the more beneficial to the commonalty and favourable to population; and the larger the farms are to a certain extent, the more certain the increase of cultivation and the receipts of revenue. The assigning of whole villages individually or in number to the most responsible of their present tenants, giving each a grant of the farm or estate for the time of the lease, on condition of paying the rent that may be regulated by the present valuation, binding each to be separately answerable for the payment of their own rents, and jointly so, for the payment of the whole revenue of their corporation, is a mode that has occurred as the best for combining all the advantages to the inhabitants in general and to revenue."¹

The local inquiries of Read and his assistants, based on the work of native surveyors and assessors, were always directed to the village registers which served as the chief guide in the assessment of revenue for the first year. In the absence of such registers in a few localities recourse was had to the opinion of the neighbourhood. Concerning the value of Read's assessment, Mr. J. W. Ballantine Dykes of the Madras Civil Service, writing in 1853, thus testifies:² "The assessment might have been conducted on more scientific principles. The different soils of the district might have been chemically tested and arranged in classes and rated accordingly; and due attention having been paid to the varying climate at these several elevations and its effects, the distance from markets and state of internal communications, tolerably correct results might have been obtained. But if operations had been conducted on these principles, but little progress would have been made... The whole system of taxation was examined and defined accurately; minute inquiries were instituted into the state of the country and recorded; more than two million five-hundred thousand acres were surveyed and one million one-hundred and twenty five thousand acres were duly assessed; and these important operations, conducted on Tippu's frontier, amidst the confusion of a newly acquired country, with the consequent necessity of maintaining all military precautions as well as in addition to the current business of the day were all brought to a close in five years."

This survey valuation gave a result of 21 per cent. excess in the amount of revenue collected—this excess being mainly due to the bringing to light of a vast amount of cultivated land in the hands of influential persons, who, under pre-British rule, had escaped assessment or had been under-assessed. This difference was least, being only 4 per cent., in the division of Capt. Munro who was even then regarded as an officer of great talents; while in the other two divisions the excess in the final assessment was considerable.

¹ *Ibid.*, page 18.

² *Salem, An Indian Collectorate* (1853, W. H. Allen & Co.), pp. 42-43.

Munro justifiably hesitated to raise the assessment to its utmost limit and thus make it hard for the ryots to pay.

Read's account of his methods of assessment is given in detail in his letter dated, Baramahal, 1st July 1793, to the Governor-General¹. His methods are printed in the Salem District *Gazetteer*²—as containing all the main principles of the *Ryotwari* settlement still in force in our Presidency and “as being evolved directly from the indigenous system which he found in vogue in the Salem District in 1792.” He ascertained first the gross revenue as settled by Tippu three years before 1788 when he realised the highest revenue, and then his own collections in the preceding year; then he checked the ryots' estimates of the produce with those of his own officers as well as with the offers made by *patels* and others who came to bid for the leases. By all this examination he was enabled to form an idea of what each district was worth; and he determined that 94 per cent. of Tippu's revenue might be taken as the standard amount for which the districts might be rented. Read's papers are tedious and lacking in lucidity; his reasoning powers were generally “as strong and clear as his writings were obscure”; “he sadly wanted that perspicuity of style which was so essential for an office that he held otherwise so worthily and which his assistant, Munro, possessed so eminently.”³

In a letter to Read dated Tenkaraikottai, 31st July, 1793⁴ Munro makes his own independent criticism on Read's fifth revenue report submitted to Lord Cornwallis. He thus points out the defects of Read's scheme:—“The principle which, of all others, one would think, required the most proof, you have assumed as an axiom, and have told us as laconically as Euclid could have done, ‘the produce of the soil increases in half the ratio of the labour.’ I should draw a very different conclusion from your data; (*viz.*) that the produce of labour is not in a standard, but a progressive ratio to a certain degree; for instance, in dry grains as little or nothing is produced by a first ploughing and no excess arises after the fifth, it appears that this ratio has a rise and fall; it is therefore probable that at some of the intermediate points between 1 and 5 it is more and at others it is less than half the produce..... I should also think you have allowed too much for subsistence and contingencies; and my reason for this supposition is the near correspondence of your estimate with the *karnam's* (village accountant's). You have omitted some trifling articles of the farmer's gains by selling cattle and ghee. You have also in your account of labourers forgotten some of their allowances.” But pointing out the value of the report, Munro continues, “I do not imagine that any investigation of revenue affairs, so minute, so original and so correct as this fifth report has ever been made by any European; but the summary has all the faults of

¹ *The Baramahal Records*, Section VI, Land Rent, pp. 20-57.

² Pp. 61-65, Vol. I, part II.

³ Dykes, p. 89.

⁴ *The Baramahal Records*, VI, Land Rent, pp. 58-61.

the fourth report and many more. The materials are all in it; but they are not arranged." Again he brings home to Read the important truth that "Revenue ought not to be all that the subject can pay but only what the necessities of the state require...(and) it is neither wise nor just to demand more and the remainder will be more beneficial to the country in the hands of the subjects than in the treasury of the Government."

The report of Read contains a very useful summary of the various heads of information to be comprised in a revenue survey (para. 85); and it contains also a strong plea (para. 78) that the rents fixed at the time of the survey should not be increased during the period of the lease on any other ground or plea than that of the probable increase of stock. It also regulates the method of payment in three *kists* or revenue instalments— "To stipulate the amount of every individual farmer's *kists* that the payment of it shall be on or before a certain date and to regulate these several proportions to the whole by the average monthly produce." (para. 81).

In his sixth report submitted to the Board of Revenue and to the Governor-General, dated 10th August 1794¹, Read said that he and his assistants had surveyed the greater part of the districts assigned to them. Every district was to be settled village by village in small farms "as the best method to establish property and excite a spirit of industry among all classes of inhabitants." Read says; "In the 1st settlement (for Fasli 1202 or 1792-93 A.D.) I judged it advisable to make only a village-settlement of the land-rent; but this year I have extended my original plan of dividing landed property, pursuant of that many of the farms composing village-lands are now given in rent to the first and second class of ryots below the *patels*, by which these ryots now hold them immediately of Government..... By that means they are advanced from a state of dependent servitude and extreme poverty to be the proprietors of their own farms and to be more immediately under the protection of the Collector; they are freed by their rents being fixed, from the vexation of additional assessments on every favourable crop and the profits of farming being thereby extended to many thousands more than last year is a circumstance proportionally in favour of population."².

In 1793, as pointed out by Read, there was a considerable increase in the extent of cultivation; but in the next year there was again a fall. Orders were issued by Government that the annual settlement of 1794 should be considered permanent pending the conclusion of the survey and that as the survey of each district was completed, the settlement with each individual ryot should be introduced. Read was careful to instruct his assistants that in the survey operations they were fixing an assessment which was to last for a term of years, and it might be, for ever." Again in 1796, shortly

¹ *The Baramahal Records*, Section I, Management, pp. 202-213. Government Press, Madras. 1907).

² *Ibid*, pp. 202-203 (para. 5).

before the survey was completed, Read addressed a memorable circular¹ to his Assistants which discouraged the annual raising of assessments and instructed that the lease system might be established forthwith in some portion of each of their divisions.

Read had however a shrewd suspicion that settlement under leases was impracticable in the district—since the share taken by the state was so large and favourable terms to the ryots were essential for lease settlements to be successful. There was “in fact nothing left to the cultivators from which might be created the capital absolutely requisite for a strict adherence to such engagements.” The sundry rules for making a careful settlement that Read embodied in this his circular were the foundation-stones of the *Ryotwari* settlement of which he was the real originator.

“The principles of *Ryotwari*,” so Read had at first written, “would seem at first sight to be more suited to the management of a private estate.” But he now turned round and declared “I now build on facts and experience while formerly I could only argue on suppositions.” And Mr. Dykes, an enthusiast for the *Ryotwari* system, adds, “The *Ryotwari* system was what Read’s mind foresaw would be the natural result of a northern sun on tropical vegetation, the growth of the village-institutions under the British government.” Read issued his famous *Ryotwari* Proclamation to the ryots of Salem on 10th December 1796, which consisted of 29 rules given in full by Mr. Dykes and Sir A. J. Arbuthnot². The keynote of the so-called charter is its third paragraph.

“The assessment of every individual field is fixed for ever. Government is never to require more or receive less unless when those fields actually dry shall hereafter be converted into wet by the construction of tanks, etc.... at the expense of Government when the rates will be proportionately raised according to the consequent increase of the produce and in like manner fixed for ever. But if you carry on such works at your expense, plant topes of palmyras, cocoanuts, etc.... on which a high rent has been formerly exacted you may depend on receiving the advantages accruing from these and from every other improvement of your land while you continue to pay the established rates; those constituting, except in the case above mentioned, the annual demand upon them on the part of the Sarkar for ever.”

Read was, strangely enough, opposed both by the Board of Revenue and by his assistants, of whom, Munro criticised the Proclamation paragraph by paragraph, in a letter dated Dharmapuri, 15th November 1796, “in that free and searching spirit of inquiry which Read always strove to promote between himself and his assistants.” (1) Munro desired³ an explicit statement that the

¹ Dykes, pp. 83-86 and Salem *Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 5-6.

² Dykes, pp. 90-103 and Arbuthnot’s *Selections from the Minutes and other writings of Sir Thomas Munro* (New Ed. 86), Section I, Revenue, pp. 3-11.

³ This and two other letters written to Read were not included in the *Revenue Selections* published by the Court of Directors nor in any other publication until Ballantine Dykes included them in his book.

settlement was intended to be permanent; (2) that the proposals for applying changeable rates to fallow land should be made less intricate; and (3) the regulation for annual tenures embodied in rule 11, being calculated to discourage long leases should be amended. Generally reviewing the whole scheme, he thought that the rules of assessment were too complicated and that the proposed regulations would tend to the relinquishment of the more productive and the cultivation of the less productive lands, thus diminishing the gross produce of the country. He also pleaded for the reduction of the assessment by 20 per cent. by which measure land could be rendered more saleable and cultivation would be more extended; and he was in favour of not only making over the lands to the ryots in perpetuity, but also of fixing the money assessment permanently. In this long letter Munro showed himself to be a warm advocate, as he ever had been, of moderate and fixed assessments so far as fixity could be ensured " compatibly with the financial requirements of the state ", though his later opinion veered against a permanent settlement.¹ Both Read and Munro agreed that all lands were to be made over to the ryots outright; but the latter would not subscribe to the rules which gave perfect freedom to the ryot to transfer his capital from one land to another and to make such changes annually.²

The Board of Revenue who were ignorant of Read's proposals, required a report on the survey so far accomplished and on the possibility of the permanent settlement of the districts in lease. Read was anxious to give his proposals a fair trial; the revenues of the two succeeding years fell off to some extent, as many of the ryots, taking advantage of Read's Proclamation, had cancelled their engagements in lease and begun to throw up each year what lands they were not able to cultivate. Thus the settlements for Fasli 1207 and 1208 (1796-1798) during which Read remained as Collector and of a few subsequent years were annual, the assessments being those fixed by the survey on the lands. The lease system survived to a very insignificant extent.³ In October 1798 the Board of Revenue pointed out how it had been their impression all along that the annual and temporary settlement for 1794 was to be upheld till progressively supplanted by quinquennial leases as the survey of each district was concluded; whilst now to their extreme astonishment, they learn for the first time after the lapse of no less than four years, that not only that neither policy had been carried out, but that the whole lease system in direct opposition to the opinion of his three assistants had been formally annulled and that too on Col. Read's own responsibility, though such authority vested in the Government alone.⁴ They peremptorily

¹ Arbuthnot's note on p. 10 of Munro's Revenue Selections (*Minutes and Writings of Sir Thomas Munro*).

² See Dykes, pp. 84 to 171; and *printed Selections* from Dist. Records (pp. 19-32) and Le Fanu's *Salem District Manual*, Vol. I, p. 247, *et seq.*

³ Gazetteer of the Salem District, Vol. I, part II, p. 8.

⁴ Dykes, p. 175.

demanded a prompt and minute explanation for the change which resulted in such a loss of revenue as nearly two lakhs.

Soon afterwards, before Read could justify himself or give the demanded explanation, both he and Munro were recalled to their military duty in connection with the last Mysore war and put in charge of a corps collected in the Baramahal. Read however, before his departure for England, drew up and presented to the Board of Revenue an exhaustive report of his work which embodied a vast amount of commercial and agricultural statistics "classified with great care and accuracy and forming most valuable data for comparing the state of the district now and then."¹ Thus there was no one in Salem to assert the merits of the system introduced by Read; for though MacLeod of the original four remained, he had never counted for much in the gradual formulation of Read's policy. "The way was therefore clear for assimilating the policy of Madras to that of Bengal; and the Zamindari system was to blight the Baramahal and Talaghat."

During the last years of his stay in the Baramahal, Munro himself was beginning to veer round to the views of Read. In a letter to the Chief Collector dated the 18th of July 1797, Munro pleaded for a reduction of the rate of assessment if the ryots should not be made to throw up some portion of their lands, and enunciated certain rules which would, if annual settlements were to be adopted, afford to the ryots every advantage that could be granted to them; he then continued:—"I do not think it is a thing to be desired that Government should have no tenants, but a few great proprietors. They would contribute nothing to the security of the revenue, for they are as likely as the petty farmers to fail from misfortune or imprudence and more likely to do so from design..... On the contrary, by adapting the system of collection to the condition of the inhabitants, the country is filled with a multitude of small independent farmers who extend or contract their farms according to their different success. This freedom will in time produce all the various gradations of rich and poor proprietors for large and small farms..... The fairest chance and the widest scope is given to the progress of industry and population. The people are themselves happier than they could be when parcelled out among great land-holders; they are also more easily managed....."².

Thus Munro's opinions were changing; and the supplementary (or subsequent portion of the) letter written two months later³ is the only link now required to complete the chain by which he, whom after-times called 'the Father of the *Ryotwari* system,' came to think "not only that yearly settlements were the best, but that the ryots must also be further left to choose for themselves and must not be bound to hold for a second year what they do not want—fields which they find it better not to keep."⁴

¹ *Baramahal Records* : Management, Property, etc.

² Arbutnott—Revenue Selections, p. 21; and Dykes, p. 136.

³ Letter dated Tiruchengodu 5th Sep. 1797.

⁴ Dykes, p. 137.

In the same communication Munro tried to reconcile himself to the new policy of allowing the farmers the option of varying the quantity of cultivation every year. He thus says:—"Though the farmers have the option of throwing up their lands, they will cultivate nearly the same quantity every successive year, and they will cultivate at least the same quantity as now, upon an average of years. This liberty, though attended with little loss to the public, is of wonderful service to the farmers, because it enables them to accommodate themselves to the seasons. It is beneficial to them immediately and (also) ultimately to the revenue." Munro however was in favour of withdrawing this option in proportion as the circumstances of cultivation should improve under the influence of the British peace and security (para. 10 of his letter).¹ At the end of the letter he summarises the various heads of securing a permanent revenue on this basis like (1) a reduction of 15 per cent. to be made on the lease assessment of Read which was admitted to be high on all sides; (2) the country was to be rented immediately of Government by small farmers; (3) settlements were to be annual; (4) everyman was to have a part or the whole of his land in lease if he wished it; (5) villages and districts were to be responsible for all individual failures; (6) all lands included in the lease settlement should remain invariably at the rents then fixed after the proposed reduction of 15 per cent.; (7) all lands not included in the lease should be rented at the averages of the respective villages to which they belong; (8) all castes, whether natives or aliens to the district, were to pay the same rent for the same land; (9) no additional rent was to be ever demanded for the improvements by the farmer who might convert dry land into rice fields or gardens; and (10) no reduction of the established rent was ever to be allowed except under rare conditions.

Munro thus admitted that all the advantages of the lease system could be secured by the *Ryotwari* settlement proposed by Read. But he did not affirm that the new scheme should and could be introduced anywhere and everywhere, though he was convinced that the lease system was unsuitable so far as Salem was concerned, where the general poverty of the inhabitants, the frequency of the change of holdings from year to year, the great fluctuations of live-stock owing to fluctuating exports and outbreaks of severe distemper and the high rental exacted by previous governments "generally afforded no other reward to the cultivator than the wages of labour." Munro himself had recorded in the course of the letter to Read quoted above, an able and detailed report on the state of the people when the country came under British occupation. His deliberate conclusion was that land was cheap, not only because of the high rental imposed, but also on account of the operation of a number of other causes like the general poverty of the people which hindered them from stocking their farms well. Both high rentals and general poverty operated against the enlargement of farms "by leaving little profit

¹ Quoted in Arbuthnot's Revenue Selections; p. 37.

to the cultivator and preventing the accumulation of stock. All this is only a further proof that the principles of *Ryotwari* were sorely needed by the ryots of Salem.

Munro's private opinion about the scheme is expressed in a letter addressed to his father, dated Tiruchengodu, 21st September, 1798¹. It was that the rents of the Baramahal as fixed by the survey were too high, though on an average they were only nearly what they were under Tippu. "This circumstance," he says "joined to the general poverty of the people, is a great obstacle to every kind of improvement; and it has hitherto prevented the lease from being settled. Government have desired it to be made so as to sit lightly on the inhabitants; but they were not aware that in order to effect this, they must relinquish 20 or 25 per cent. of the present revenue. This reduction will be recommended to them by every argument that can be thought of....."

"I do not myself approve of attempting to establish a general lease at once all over the country. There are many arguments against such a measure founded on the poverty, the ignorance and the manners of the people which it would be tedious to detail. I rather wish to continue the plan now followed of letting every farmer please himself.....and as every field has a rate of assessment which never varies, he knows perfectly what he has to trust to and that his rent can never rise or fall but exactly in proportion to the extent of land he occupies..... By persevering in this system the farmers would soon know how much land they could manage; they would cease to abandon whatever fields they have in any degree improved and this practice which would answer every purpose of a lease would gradually extend over the whole country. If we endeavour to establish the lease everywhere at once, it could not be permanent; for ignorance and inexperience both on our side and on that of the farmers would lead many of them into engagements which they would not be afterwards able to fulfil..... The great number of farmers in the Baramahal necessarily occasions much detail in the management of the revenue; but there is no difficulty in it—nothing is required but constant attention; and where this is given, it is both better for the country and easier for the Collector to receive the rents directly from 60,000 farmers than by the medium of 10 or 12 zamindars or great land-holders."

Read's cherished scheme was soon sacrificed by the Government to other exigencies. In 1802 by *Regulation XXV* they declared for a Zamindari settlement and attempted to create a class of zamindars in Salem who should possess the self-same rights as their brethren in Bengal. A Commissioner was deputed to the district to create the estates and their holders; he first parcelled out the lower portion of the district and sold at auction so many lots at a time to the highest bidders who forthwith became land-holders under the title of (*Mittadars*) *Mootadars*. In two years the whole of the southern

¹ G. R. Gleig—*Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro* (Three Vols., Bentley 1830), Vol. I, pp. 200-206.

portion had been thus parcelled out. By 1805 the central portion of the Baramahal was also sold out, though the estates did not fetch such high prices as in the first case. About 205 estates were thus created, the average assessment on each estate being £800. "When the country to be sold was very mountainous, the villagers themselves in some instances had been left the zamindars. The *peshkash* of each estate or *mitta* was fixed on the basis of the calculated land-revenue from which were deducted the *sukhavāsi* remission,¹ the *swarnādāyam*² which included miscellaneous items of revenue like the tax on grazing, taxes on various occupations, etc., and imposts known as *motarpha* (taxes on bazaars, etc.). The salaries of the village-servants as well as the profits of the *mittadars* were deducted; and what remained was fixed as the permanent *peshkash*. The *mittadars*' profit was not calculated at a uniform rate and was influenced partly by the amount of cultivable waste lands in the *mittas*. Government retained in its own hands tobacco and betel licenses and also control over the *abkari* farming and *sayar*, i.e., Inland customs—levied as town customs, great road tolls, cross-road tolls, and market dues which made up a fairly large item of revenue. Government soon resumed the *motarpha* rights in all *mittas*; and a few years later the courts also ruled that *motarpha* could not be collected by the *mittadars*.

All the sales in the Baramahal were completed by 1805 and the country was permanently settled according to the regulations. But after four years the amount realised from these estates began to decrease steadily; while the number of *mittadars* who regularly paid their dues diminished still more rapidly. By 1821 the revenue had fallen to less than half of what it was in 1806. Even in the very next year (1803) after the *mittas* began to be created, as many as 32 estates had to be attached by the Government for arrears of revenue. Mr. Hargrave who was the Collector from 1803 to 1820, had soon to request permission from the Board of Revenue to retain in his own hands some of the worst estates so that they could be improved. "Of the 197 sales up to 1813, no less than 39 were purchased on behalf of Government; and Government even sanctioned a special outlay for the buying in of the worst estates. The price paid was afterwards limited to the amount of arrears thereon; and it cannot be said that the rapid return of the country to the *Ryotwari* system which followed this order was a mere matter of trading.³ According to the calculations made by Mr. Dykes, the collections in the 94 estates which had reverted to Government had fallen by more than 20 per cent. By 1835, 212 estates had been purchased by the Government which also showed the same deterioration in their annual value.⁴ The failure of the

¹ Deductions of assessment in favour of certain privileged classes on the ground that they could not personally engage in agriculture.

² *Swarnādāyam*—Rent or revenue receivable in money, not in kind (*vide Wilson—Glossary of Indian Terms*—p. 496).

³ P. 18, *Salem Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II.

⁴ Dykes, p. 195.

mitta system was due to the high original assessment of Read, of which Munro had all along complained, to the unwillingness of the new land-lords to sink capital in the improvement of their estates, to the difficulty of dealing with the ryots beginning to be conscious of the new freedom secured by British rule, to the power of dividing the estates possessed by their holders which acted both ways—"accelerating the return of some of the country to the *Ryotwari* system and elsewhere establishing more firmly the new land-lords"—and to the harsh rules of collection from the ryots which were introduced by Regulation XXVIII of 1802 and which placed all the machinery of the courts at the disposal of the zamindar. The only redeeming feature of the revenue-history of this *mitta*-period was the comparative lightness of assessment of dry land which varied between half a rupee and a pagoda per acre¹. It is this latter fact that tended to produce greater stability among the *mittadars* of the Baramahal region where dry land predominated and where Regulations XXIX and XXX of 1802 purported to secure the welfare of the ryot under this system. It was Munro whom the people of Baramahal had come to reverence almost as a superhuman being, that introduced the Police Regulations of 1816; and he was enabled thereby to effect a large curtailment of the arbitrary powers of the land-lords and the consequent increase of the freedom of the ryots. In 1821 Munro, as Governor of Madras, passed Regulation XX of that year and thereby secured the freedom of the ryots' holdings from distraint by the zamindar without the knowledge of the Collector who was now empowered to summarily dispose of all points of difference that might arise between the zamindar and the ryot. Even so, and in spite of other remedial measures passed by Government, the condition of the ryots in the *mittas* and elsewhere continued to be very bad.

In 1816 the Board of Revenue had, after careful inquiry, reduced the assessment in the lower portion of the district by about 10 per cent. in those estates which had come under the direct management of Government. This reduction was obviously insufficient. Two years later the Collector was directed, in cases where an accurate and personal investigation had convinced him of the necessity, to reduce the assessment as much as 30 per cent. Mr. Cockburn, Collector from 1820 to 1829, was at first of the opinion that it was not the excessive assessment, but the cruel conduct of the land-lords, that had ruined the Salem peasantry. He soon changed his mind and recommended that a 15 per cent. reduction be made all round, as otherwise any attempt to improve the condition of the ryots would be in vain. He then introduced in 1822, the so-called *Cowle*² Rules, under which if a ryot took up land that had not been cultivated three years continuously, half the assessment only was to be paid for the first and three-quarters for the second year of cultivation; while a permanent reduction of 25 per cent. assessment was to be granted

¹ Gleig, Vol. I., p. 206.

² Compare with the revenue-assessment of *Chachar* and *Banjar* lands in Todar Mal's settlement.

at the close of a progressive *cowle* on all fields that had been waste for 10 years and more; no assessment whatsoever being paid for the first year; and a larger immunity being given to lands which had been longer out of cultivation. Such rules led to the rapid increase of the *cowle* tenure which influenced a large number of the *Ryotwari* cultivators, leading to a large reduction of the survey rates. The Collector was aware of the abuses of the *cowle* system which interfered prejudicially with the cultivation of regularly assessed land already occupied, and kept up an appearance of extensive cultivation.

These abuses led to a revision of the *Cowle* Rules in 1833 and 1835 when it was declared that "no land was to be granted on *cowle* to any ryot who is not able to cultivate it in addition to his usual *patkat* lands¹, and the ryot had no right to pick out the best fields of his holding, and to leave the remainder waste." This last rule was diametrically opposed to the very essence of the *Ryotwari Proclamation* of Read; and it marked the definite breakdown of one of the most important of pure *Ryotwari* maxims. The *Cowle* Rules, it is true, gave immediate relief to the tenants; but their effect on the general agricultural policy of the district was on the whole bad. The problems of *cowle*-tenure and assessment were indeed very difficult to tackle with. During the period of Mr. J. D. Gleig's Collectorate (1838-45) the Board of Revenue passed a series of orders stiffening the *Cowle* Rules as a result of which the grant of *cowle* was prohibited in dry lands which had been waste for less than 5 years and in lands less than a single plough in extent or the assessment of which did not exceed Rs. 2. No land might be given on *cowle* which was not overgrown with jungle and trees; and a ryot owning *patkat* and *cowle* lands was forbidden grant of fresh lands on *cowle*; while those who neglected their *patkat* and retained their *cowle* lands were required to pay their full assessment on these latter from the time they had been taken up. When the ryot desired to abandon *patkat* lands, he had to abandon good and bad lands in proportion. Finally there came what Mr. Dykes describes as the *Ryotwari* Code of 1844 by which the ryot was to be permitted on no account to throw up bad land alone. The rigour of this good-and-bad-land rule was mitigated by succeeding Collectors; and it was only in the Collectorate of Mr. Brett, (1853-62) that there was effected some reduction in the rates of the old survey assessments known as *Taram Kammi*. In 1859 the ryots were informed that they were at liberty to give up what lands they liked; and "this order annihilated the last remnant of the meddlesome and illiberal rule requiring good and bad lands to be given up in equal proportions.

About 1850, the close of our period of study, there were nearly 700,000 acres cultivated under the *Ryotwari* system in the district; as early as 1820 nearly two-thirds of Salem had reverted to the *Ryotwari* system and fifteen years later there were more extended changes. The assessment of land had much to do with this growing change to *Ryotwari* tenure. "Not only was the

¹ Land held on leasehold tenure *patta* land in the Madras Revenue terminology.

assessment too high where the zamindars failed;" but the over-assessment was greatest where those failures were the most extensive." The first assessment of Read was tried by the zamindari system and then found to fail even under the influence of other conditions. The Code of 1844, stringent in the fashion of old Maratha codes, did not improve matters. The revenue story of the district down to the middle of the last century is well expressed in the following statement:—

" Surveyed, assessed and settled with extreme care (by Read); for twenty years ground to the dust by errors as truly English as well-meant; for a like period nursed with *cowle*; for the last ten years subjected to the rule of good and bad; in 1850 the district of Salem, notwithstanding all these changes, promises well for the future;"¹ and the circumstances of the ryots though not good, had greatly improved.

Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar's Critics.

(By N. V. Phadke, B.A., LL. B.)

In the works of Sir John Malcolm and Grant Duff, ample credit is given to Maharaja Yeshwant Rao for his bravery, indomitable courage, great organizing capacity and restless energy. But the distinguished Authors have to offer a poor estimate of his moral character.

2. The Research work that has been carried on for some years past in the Holkar State and elsewhere, has brought to light material which should prove of great use to writers of Maratha History. In the light of this material many incidents doubtful before can now be explained; incidents not noticed before, though important, can now be given their proper place; and many propositions accepted as truths before can no longer be so accepted. It is proposed in this paper to examine in the light of this material, some of the incidents in the Life of Maharaja Yeshwant Rao which strongly go against his character.

3. The battle of Poona, 1802, is considered, and rightly too, as a very important event. It led to the disintegration of the Maratha confederacy and to the supremacy of the British power. The hero of the battle was Yeshwant Rao Holkar; while the defeated armies were those of the Peishwa Baji Rao II and Scindia. The Peishwa felt himself obliged, as a result of this defeat, to seek the protection of the British Government. This led to the Treaty of Bassein, whereby a subsidiary alliance was formed with the Peishwa; whilst his erstwhile Sardars, Scindia and Holkar, were made independent of him. It is but natural that the person who is supposed to have been the author of the disintegration should arouse feelings of resentment. But how far Yesh-

¹ Dykes, p. 433.

Yeshwant Rao was really responsible for the events which led to the battle, and how far he was responsible for the consequences flowing from it are questions which deserve to be examined in the light of the materials now brought to light.

4. The battle of Poona was preceded by the battle of Indore, where Yeshwant Rao's army was defeated by Scindia's in retaliation for the defeat inflicted on the latter army at Oojein by Yeshwant Rao. Yeshwant Rao proceeded southward in the direction of Poona after his defeat. Overtures were made by him to the Peishwa to adjust his differences with Scindia, who had encroached upon the ancient rights of the Holkar family. The Peishwa paid no serious attention to this request and openly sided with Scindia. It would be tiresome to give details of these negotiations. But a few extracts from the documents discovered might usefully be cited here to show the completely submissive and loyal attitude of Yeshwant Rao towards the Peishwa, both before and after the battle of Poona.

- (a) On pages 456-67 of Rajwade's "Itihasachee Sadhane," Vol. X, there is a letter printed at No. 607. The substance of this letter is that Yeshwant Rao Holkar never behaved insolently towards the Peishwa; that when the Peishwa's army approached him 12 days before the actual battle of Poona, he got down from his horse and bowed in reverence and warned his own troops not to encounter the Peishwa's forces.
- (b) Bhawani Shankar in his Persian Diary which he wrote in December 1810 when he had long since severed his connection with Maharaja Yeshwant Rao and was actually a Jagirdar of the British Government, says that before the battle of Poona, Yeshwant Rao wrote from Loni, 12 miles from Poona, two letters to the Peishwa, one after another. The letters stated that Holkars were hereditary servants of the Peishwa's Gadi and were dependent on the latter. The letter begged that the Peishwa might adjust differences between Scindia and Holkar, or leave both to settle the differences amongst themselves as best they could, without taking the side of Scindia. The diary also states that the Peishwa nevertheless espoused the cause of Scindia and prepared for battle with Holkar.
- (c) A letter is traced written by Yeshwant Rao Holkar himself two days after the battle of Poona. This letter observes that though the Peishwa had sent some persons to Yeshwant Rao at Theur to carry on negotiations, their object was merely to gain time.
- (d) Bhawani Shankar's Diary aforesaid says that after his defeat the Peishwa removed himself from Poona, but that Yeshwant Rao immediately after sent him a letter with one Bhaskar Rao,

repeating his former loyal sentiments towards the Peishwa and agreeing to obey his commands; but that the Peishwa declined to accept the offer.

5. These documents make it clear that the real quarrel was between Scindia and Holkar; that the attitude of Yeshwant Rao towards the Peishwa was submissive both before and after the battle of Poona; and that the Peishwa even after his defeat was implored by Yeshwant Rao to come back to Poona and was offered allegiance by the latter. If notwithstanding all this the Peishwa was panic stricken and threw himself on the protection of the British Government, the result can in no way be attributed to Yeshwant Rao's conduct.

6. The other serious charge which is brought by the said Authors against Yeshwant Rao Holkar is that he caused the death of his nephew, Khande Rao, son of Malhar Rao, in whose name he was till then administering the State affairs. Bhawani Shankar, who had no object in perverting facts in favour of Yeshwant Rao Holkar after he had severed his connection with him, observes in his Diary that the Maharaja while returning from the Punjab was on his march from Kota to Rampura Bhanpura; that he visited Shahapura, where his nephew Khande Rao died of cholera; that Yeshwant Rao was severely distressed at the sad event, but that somehow he consoled himself.

7. The next charge brought by the aforesaid Historians is that he caused the death of his elder brother Kashi Rao. It may be observed here that Kashi Rao had all along been extremely ill disposed towards his other brothers—Malhar Rao, Yeshwant Rao and Vithojee, and had offered rewards to Scindia to ruin his brothers. As a result, Malhar Rao lost his life in a scuffle with Scindia's troops which were sent against him. Yeshwant Rao was seized and kept in custody by the Bhosla of Nagpur on the request by Scindia. Malhar Rao's and Yeshwant Rao's near relatives were kept in custody by Scindia. Various acts of hostility were planned by Kashi Rao against Yeshwant Rao; and he also attempted to take the life of Malhar Rao's wife, then pregnant. There should be nothing astonishing if the charge aforesaid is true. Yet some correspondence has been traced which gives a contrary account and it may be usefully cited here. In his letter dated the 2nd March 1808 Mr. Mercer, Resident with Scindia, writes to Major Walker, Resident at Baroda, as follows:—

“ Holkar continues in his cantonments at Banpoora and has been obliged to detach the greatest part of the force with him to quell a disturbance in the province of Mahessur, raised it would appear by partizans of Cashee Row Holkar, who made a night attack on the party in charge of the person of Cashee Row near the fort of Beejaghur, and dispersed them, Cashee Row, however, was killed in the scuffle.”

8. I am putting forward these extracts for the consideration of the students of History. The names of Malcolm and Grant Duff are very high. They have rendered signal service to the cause of history in their own days and their works are still cited as authority. But if researches bring new material to light putting forward the other side, it should surely be availed of to form a correct judgment, if the material comes from unimpeachable sources.

The Magna Charta and after.

(By Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D.)

Before we speak of the necessity of the Magna Charta, it is essential to take stock of the principal privileges which the English had secured at various places up to the death of Bahadur Shah, Aurangzeb's successor, or roughly to the period immediately succeeding the amalgamation of the two East India Companies in England. In the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, instead of port duties,¹ town customs, presents and other charges levied from merchants in general, the English were privileged to pay a yearly present of *three thousand rupees alone* into the King's treasury at Hoogly. All their goods imported and exported were custom-free, so was the money coined for them at the King's Mint at Murshidabad.

They had a free passage for their goods at Madras, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam on the Coromandel coast, in return for an annual payment of 1,200 Pagodas. This amount also covered the rent for Madras and several other villages.

At the port of Surat the Company were allowed to pay 2 per cent. custom in the time of Shah Jahan, this was raised to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (including poll-tax) by Aurangzeb, but his successor, Bahadur Shah reduced it to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.²

This in brief, presents the situation of the English regarding port duties in different parts of the country in the year 1715, when they made representations to the Emperor Furruckseer.

Then their merchants, factors or agents, whether Indians or English, employed at the Aurungs or elsewhere were not to be molested or called to account by petty officers upon frivolous pretences, while they continued in the Company's service and were employed for the Company.

The Company had authority to try factors or merchants guilty of embezzlement, non-payment of debts, etc.

Convenient places and plots of land had been granted to them to build and settle factories in several inland places of note, as Hoogly, Cossimbazar,

¹ 5 per cent. paid by all merchants, natives or foreigners. B. M. Harleian Ms. 7,018, p. 29.

² The English were also custom-free on the Malabar Coast, in Sumatra and Persia.

Patna, Dacca, Maulda, Rajamahl, Balasore, Radnugor, etc., in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Other factories were established in many important centres of trade.

In Bengal, they held and enjoyed the three towns of Calcutta, Sutanuti and Gobindpur which had been granted to them by Sultan Mohammed Azeem, the father of the Emperor Furruckseer.

On the Coromandel Coast they had for many years past rented four towns, near Vizagapatam, for which together with Vizagapatam, they used to pay every year at Chicacull (Sittacole) Rs. 4,862¹.

Such were the legal rights on paper but not in fact, because their actual enjoyment was most precarious and they lacked the organic unity of proceeding from the single fountain of sovereign power. Provincial governors and local officers somewhat neutralized these advantageous privileges by exacting presents from English merchants. The business of the Company, owing to these special exemptions and other causes detailed elsewhere, had been developing fast. But with brighter prospects of a growing commerce, the British factors in India grew more impatient to break through even the few remaining restrictions, to secure further privileges for the extension and freedom of their trade, to obtain security against the so-called heavy taxes, arbitrary exactions and occasional molestations, and particularly to have the undisputed right to buy or hold a small plot of ground wherever in the whole empire they intended to settle a factory.

With these objects in view, Governor Thomas Pitt fearlessly stated the paramount necessity of obtaining confirmation and extension of the Company's ancient rights to Zeandy Cawn, Lord High Steward of King Shah Alam's household, in a representation dated January 5, 1703:—"I must also acquaint you that notwithstanding the Royal grants above-mentioned, we have met with there of late years, great abuses and obstructions to our trade more particularly as to our goods that came from Patna, Dacca, Rajamahl, Maulda, Cossimbazar, etc. Every little government having erected all along the rivers chowkeys (toll-houses) who extort custom and what they please, and will pay no reverence to the Royal Authority; in so much that our goods on the boats are often coming down 6 or 8 months, so that we either lose the monsoon to send them on our ships, or they are damaged and rotten before they arrive. Then at Surat, the merchant is unhappy, that trades to that port, and this I write from experience, that the usage in the custom house to most men's persons is so barbarous, becoming slaves rather than merchants, and no better as to their goods, where by the King's order they pay 3½ per cent. according to the value of the goods, which they generally rate 50 per cent. or double the worth in the bazar, and accordingly make up the custom: when in all parts of the world where they act with honour and justice, the

¹ Thomas Pitt's Representation, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 69, App. 4-5. As Bombay was not granted by an Indian prince, no mention has been made of it above.

customer that overvalues goods is obliged to take them at that rate. Then besides, their despatches in their custom-house are so dilatory, that our ships often lose their monsoons and merchants the sale of their goods; so hope may be some way found in a Phirnaund that these grievances may be remedied for the future, which will lend greatly to the honour of the King and to the augmentation of riches in his country.”¹

These protests were at first drowned in the seething sea of distractions and disturbances caused by the revolts of the Sikhs, Jats and Rajputs during the short reign of Bahadur Shah, the successor of Aurangzeb (1708-1712). But an opportunity soon offered itself to the English for the redress of the grievances which were not a moiety of those inevitably and patiently submitted to by Indian and Asiatic merchants.

During the fratricidal war after the death of Jehandar Shah (1712-13), the English assisted Furruckseer against his competitor and acted in Hoogly pursuant to his orders in helping Zeandy Cawn with all manner of ammunition and provisions, and in taking care of Masulipatam, Chinapatam, and all the sea coast. On his success in securing the throne of Delhi, the English naturally devised means to secure a reward for their services in the shape of the confirmation and amplification of their former privileges.²

Moreover, the Dutch had obtained a very favourable charter from the Emperor in 1711. The English too like their rivals were impatient to secure themselves in their rights by Royal Firmans. The three Presidencies, therefore, made a united effort through their Factors in Bengal.

A deputation consisting of John Surman, Stephenson, Cojah Surhand—an eminent Armenian, with William Hamilton attending Surgeon, was sent to wait upon the Emperor Furruckseer.³

¹ Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 69, App. p. 4. Further grievances stated in a letter of August, 1718, App. pp. 5-6.

² Original Petition given in Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 69, p. 68; Wilson's Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. 11, Part 1, p. 111.

³ For Bengal.—The following original papers relating to their ancient privileges in Bengal are mentioned as having been delivered to the Deputation that went to wait upon the Emperor Furruckseer:—

Shah Jehan's two Phirnaunds	.	.	.	.	.	.	1638 and 1649 A. D.
Sultan Shuja's Nishan	.	.	.	.	.	.	1655
Mazeem Khan's Perwanna	.	.	.	.	.	.	1661
Daud Cawn's Perwanna	.	.	.	.	.	.	1663
Huckeut Khan's Perwanna	.	.	.	.	.	.	1665
Shaista Khan's Perwannas	.	.	.	.	.	.	1661-5 and 1680
Muhammad Azeem's Nishan	.	.	.	.	.	.	1678
Mirza Moger's Perwanna	.	.	.	.	.	.	1679
Aurangzeb's Phirnaunds	.	.	.	.	.	.	1689 and 1690
Ibrahim Khan's Perwanna	.	.	.	.	.	.	1691
Izzut Cawn's Perwannas	.	.	.	.	.	.	1697 and 1698
Seer Bulund Cawn's Perwanna	.	.	.	.	.	.	1709
Cawn Jehan Bahadur's Sunnud	.	.	.	.	.	.	1711-12

Surman's Diary. App. pp. 10 and 12 in Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 69.

There is another list of the Charters given on page 36, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 68. Copies of Charters were transmitted to His Excellency Sir William Morris, Bart, London,

While negotiations were going on with state officials, fortune favoured the English by presenting a rare opportunity of still further serving the Emperor. Doctor Hamilton was successful in curing the Emperor of a disorder which had baffled the skill of the Imperial physicians, in consequence of which he received a vest, a helmet set with precious jewels, two diamond rings, an elephant, a horse, and five thousand rupees, models in gold of all his surgical instruments, and a promise that any request of his should be complied with. The great and noble Hamilton, rising above personal ambitions, asked for the confirmation of the proposed charters and the Emperor readily fulfilled his word by giving his assent to them.

Home Misc., Vols. 69-71, especially the 69th Vol. contain the full diary of the deputation and the copies of the Phirmaunds in English and Persian. Subsequent writers, it appears, could not get this original Phirmaund as worded by the deputation, but made their own translations of the Persian charters, hence differences are visible in several versions, as

1. I. O. Treaties, Vol. 3, p. 48;
2. Surat Factory Records, Vol. 24, pp. 69-70;
3. Bengal Gen., Consultations, 22 Feb. 1763;
4. Home Misc., Vol. 68, pp. 17-19;
5. History of Nadir Shah by J. Fraser, pp. 47-57;
6. Narrative of Bengal by Vansittart, Vol. I, pp. 9-15;
7. First Report of the Select Committee 1773 (Edition 1773, pp. 77-90);
8. Orme's History, Vol. II, p. 17.

It is wrong to talk of a single Charter conferred upon the English by Furruckseer. Really, three separate Phirmaunds addressed to the Governors, etc., of Bengal, Hyderabad and Ahmedabad were obtained from the Emperor

Ambassador from the Crown of England to the Emperor of Indostan. Five more Patents are mentioned from (1) Mohamet Zerma in 1632-3, (2) Sultan Azam Shah, (3) Asset Cawn, (4) Hadjee Sufee, (5) Nabob Shaista Cawhan.

Fort St. George.

Cowl given by Seranga Royollo to Agent Ivie, November 16, 1643.

Cowl given by Yackman Cawn to Sir Wm. Langhorn, 23rd February, 1671-2.

Cowl given by Moosa Cawn to Sir Wm. Langhorn, 18th April, 1672.

Cowl given by Olympanas to Sir Wm. Langhorn, 23rd February, 1676.

General Phirmaund by the King of Golcondah, 19th December, 1674.

Perwanna by Nabob Assid Cawn to Governor Yale.

Dustuck by Nabob Assid Cawn to Governor Yale, 18th March, 1691-2.

Nishan by Cawn Buksh Cawn to Governor Yale.

A list of 27 grants is preserved in the Diary and Consultation book of the London Company's Council at Fort William, published by Wilson in his Annals, Vol. I, p. 241. In his Vol. II, Part I, Wilson has reproduced a most complete list of phirmaunds, Nishans, Perwannas, etc. from Consult., 19th August, 1714. It extends to more than nine pages.

accompanied by 32 (31 according to p. 142) Perwannas or orders in the name of Governors and Officers concerned to give effect to the various rights granted in those Charters. The main articles are undoubtedly similar in all those Charters, there are minor differences relating to the local needs of the three provinces¹.

The various grants and patents bestowed upon the English can now be briefly summed up as below:—

THE GREAT CHARTER OF FURRUCKSEER.

1. Duty-free trade was to continue in Bahar, Orissa and Bengal on a yearly payment of a Peshcush (tribute) of 3,000 Rupees into the Royal treasury at Hoogly, in lieu of customs, and no other demands on any pretence were henceforth to be made by the Mogul Officers.
2. Earnest efforts were to be made by Government Officers for the recovery of the stolen goods of the English, and the same were to be restored to their owners.
3. No obstruction was to be offered to their boats, whether hired or their own property, on account of any duties.
4. Their trade through the port of Surat was made custom-free by the payment of a yearly tribute of ten thousand Rupees.
5. The trade at Madras was also to be custom-free for an annual payment of 1,200 Pagodas to the Government.
6. Instead of an original Sunnud or deed under the seals of the Nizam and Dewan of a province, an authentic copy of the same under the seal of a Kazy (Judge) was to be credited at every custom-house, for exempting all British goods from all kinds of duties, exactions and delays.
7. The Zamindari of Calcutta, Sutanuti and Gobindpur was confirmed in return for an annual rent of 1,195 Rupees 6 annas and that of the thirty-eight new villages,² adjoining to the aforesaid towns conferred for a yearly rent of 8,121 Rupees 8 annas to be paid to the Mogul Government.
8. The Chinapatam coins, provided their silver was of equal quality with the "coins of the fortunate port of Surat," were to pass current in the dominions of the Mogul without paying any discount.

¹ Copies of Hosbol Hookums (lit. Pursuit of Commands) are preserved in the 3rd and 6th Vols. of Treaties—India Office—General Records. See Wilson's Early Annals, Vol. II, Part I, p. 287.

² 38 villages are mentioned in the several Vols. of Treaties, in Fraser's and Vansittart's works. 38 are named in Consult., May 4th, 1714. In a note in the Home Mis., Vol. 68, p. 21, it is stated that the Book of Phirmaund mentions 33 towns while Mr. Orme (Vol. II, p. 21) states the number of additional towns granted to be 37, but that the cession did not take effect owing to the secret threats of the Nabob of Bengal, which deferred the proprietors from parting with their lands for any compensation whatsoever. However, by a Perwanah without date, Suffrage Cawn, Dewan of Bengal, confirmed to the Company the possession of Calcutta, etc., which was afterwards ratified by Nabob Shuja Cawn. Bengal cons., 16th July, 1736.

9. Permission was granted to strike coins in Bombay, where till then European coins were current, after the manner of the coins of the Empire, and they were to pass current.
10. Forty Bighas of land were to be graciously bestowed on the English by the Emperor *wherever they chose to establish a factory*, "fairly to buy and sell goods in."
11. The goods of wrecked and lost English ships were not to be seized wholly or partially, by the provincial governments, but were to be restored in full to their owners without any charges whatsoever.
12. All exactions in the shape of Foujdary, etc., were forbidden and the English were not to be molested in future.
13. A runaway debtor of the Company was to be seized and delivered to the neighbouring English Chief of the Factory by the Officers of the Government.

Messrs. Surman and Stephenson have truly remarked that there is no other way of coming to a clear knowledge how the grand affair has succeeded than by a serious scrutiny and perusal of their Diary from the beginning to the end. At that time they did realize that their achievements were great, but no one could then dream that they would leave an everlasting effect on the history of the world. Their wishes have been fulfilled to the very letter when they say, "Since the trade of Europeans in these parts, there have been sundry attempts of this kind, but the grants obtained have been of very little value; though at a much superior expense. May those we have gained be as lasting as they are great is our earnest wishes.

Sd. JOHN SURMAN.
EDMUND STEPHENSON."¹

Three important questions can now in the light of subsequent events be forstalled in connection with the privileges granted by this Charter:—

- (1) Were the Company alone permitted to pass their goods in return for the stated sums at various ports or were the English factors and agents of the Company also exempted from paying any duties on goods bought and sold on their account?
- (2) Were the English factors allowed to enjoy this privilege of exemption from all duties, exactions, presents, etc., even when they established themselves as merchants buying and selling commodities produced in the country?
- (3) Were any exceptions made as to the articles in which English merchants were not to deal at all?

¹ Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 69, p. 186.

A careful study of the original words of the Charters will make it clear that

(1) The servants of the Company were not required to pay the usual duties collected at the ports of the Empire and at the inland toll-houses from all other merchants engaged in import and export business. In fact, English merchants, in virtue of previous grants, had actually enjoyed these privileges long before the recent Imperial confirmation of their rights.

(2) It is nowhere mentioned that this privilege of custom-free trade was limited to the export and import trade alone. Nor is there any stipulation for demanding customs, transit duties, presents, etc., from the English when they should engage themselves in the inland trade. In fact, their right to carry on coastal trade was never questioned. They did not pay any duties, town customs or other charges on goods transferred from one province to another. No prohibition was ever laid down on the English from carrying on trade from one district to another in the produce of the country. Perhaps it was never imagined that they would extend their operations to this branch of trade. Moreover, it is true that the power that granted certain rights could also annul them on being confronted with evidence of their being prejudicial to the welfare and prosperity of the country. However, the charter in question did not restrict the English to the maritime trade alone.

(3) Even in the export and import trade, no embargo is laid on the kind, quantity, or quality of goods coming into or going out of the country. Perfect freedom of trade was continued between India and all other countries frequented and served by the English people. *They were given preference to all other merchants, native or foreign.* While duties and exactions were levied on the goods handled by the Dutch, French and other European merchants and still heavier duties on the commodities brought into or taken out by non-European nations and even Indian merchants, the English merchants and E. I. Co. were free from all these charges and molestations.

The terms regarding customs in the Bengal charter in Persian as well as in English¹ as rendered in John Surman's Diary and bearing the Grand Vizier's signature are given below:—

در بندر هنگلی سه هزار روپیه عرض محصل هر سال بطریق پیشکش داخل خزانه
سرکار والا میس زند، امید راراند که مطابق اسد اساق فرمان والا نشان مرحمت گردد -
حکم جهانگیر اع عالم مطیع شرف نفاذی یابد که اسباب راشیائی گماشتگان او به بذار
صریبها و به اطراف رجرانب از راه خشکی و دریا بیارند و ببرند محصل آن معاف
شناخته در بیج و شری مختار دانند - سه هزار روپیه پیشکش مقرری هر سال بگیرند
(Home Misc. Vol. 69, p. 130)

¹ Letter Bk. 16, pp. 265, 374-5, 376 mentions the Portuguese translations of the Three Firmans which were sent to the Co. in England. Also see pp. 113, 219.

"That all goods and necessaries which their factors of the Subahships, ports and round about, bring or carry away either by land or water, know they are custom-free, that they may buy and sell at their pleasure."

In short, the Grand Firman of Furruckseer by ratifying the old privileges *exempted all English merchants in their individual and corporate capacities* from all duties with the exception of annual presents above-mentioned upon their maritime trade which could henceforth be carried to the utmost confines of the Empire, in any and every article of export and import. This exemption from the payment of all duties, dues, presents and exactions, with freedom from molestations, searches and oppressions which the natives of the country were subject to, and without any specification as to articles in which the English were allowed to trade, could not but tend to a most fatal and pernicious monopoly of the external trade of the country. For these reasons the Charter can rightly be called the Magna Charta of English trade in India. The grant is an eternal monument of the short-sighted statesmanship of the kings and politicians of the time. Although the trade conducted by the English was then undoubtedly inconsiderable, and confined to a few articles, yet to be blind to the future possibilities of the grant, shows a complete lack of statesmanship.

These extensive privileges, it is strange to find, were further extended by a charter granted by Mohammad Jaffir Khan, Nawab of Bengal in 1724, whereby over and above the grant of all the preceding rights, it was provided that¹

(1) The Company's factors should have full liberty to buy and sell their goods, without being interrupted in any manner whatsoever, and without being required to pay any duties of Zamindary or Foujdary, and *without the intervention of native brokers* unless the Company's agents so desired.

(2) *Government Officers acting contrary to the Imperial mandate should be delivered up to the disposal of the English and receive the recompense of their deeds.*

(3) Stolen goods if not recovered, should be made good to the English merchants by the Officers themselves.

(4) A fresh Charter should not be annually demanded.

Invested with such plenipotentiary powers, and with no regulations stipulated for distinguishing between the Company's export and import trade, and the transactions of the British factors entered into on their own behalf, with no right of search reserved to the state, of the boats and carriages carrying the goods of the English, but rather with the unlimited prerogative of the British merchants to try and punish the servants of the Bengal government, if they acted contrary to their wishes, the English fac-

¹Fourth Report 1773, Appendix No. 4—Extract No. 22. Cf. Orme's Translations in Orme's Collection, Vol. XII, p. 8.

tors in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were sure to become masters, monopolizers and tyrants in no short time. The complainant was to be the judge of his own grievance and would himself punish the defendant. The Bengal government was reduced to impotency. Sovereignty is said to be inalienable and indivisible. But by the grant of these privileges, the Company became the sovereign of the sovereign.

The officers could no longer defend the people of Bengal from the encroachments of the Company's servants. The courts of the land became powerless to protect the executive from the partial, summary and unjudicial sentences of the English Company's merchant, complainant and judge, rolled into one. Up to that time, all transactions of purchase and sale were done through the native brokers, but now the English dispensed with their services and thus deprived the brokers of their incomes. How strange that all these rights were from the Governor of Bengal.

The Silk Industry in Bengal in the Days of John Company.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L.)

Silk and muslin fabrics were the two outstanding features of Bengal's past civilisation and trade. At a time when several modern civilized races had been living in a state of barbarism or using the barks of trees as their apparel, Bengal was producing these valuable stuffs and was sending them to the well-known silk-marts of Dacca, Sonargaon and Saptagram for the use of her princes and noblemen. The fame of these silk-fabrics was not only confined within the shores of India but had also spread under the name of *Gangetika* to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Ever since that period these articles steadily maintained their reputation and we have the testimony of Lambourn¹, to the effect "that nearly 23 years before the advent of the East India Company in India, i.e., about 1577, a merchant of Malda, Sheik Bhik, set sail for Russia with three ships laden with silk cloth and that two of his ships were wrecked somewhere near the Persian Gulf".

2. There seems to be no doubt that Bengal² is indebted to China for this art and that China is the country where China—The original home of silk. the culture of the silkworm was first undertaken and the product of the insect used as a material for textiles. The name "Seres"³ ("the people who furnish silk") by which appellation China

¹ *Malda District Gazetteer*, 1918, p. 59.

² *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911 (Handy Vol. Issue), Vol. 25, p. 97.

³ *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911 (Handy Vol. Issue), Vol. 25, pp. 96-7; *Cyclopaedia of India*, Vol. V, by E. Balfour, 1873, pp. 330-1; *Dictionary of dates and universal information*, by B. Vincent, 1910, pp. 1257-8.

was known to the ancients clearly proves the truth of the above assertion. The term "Seres" comes from the Chinese word "Si or Sze" meaning "silk", whence were derived the Greek word "Ser", the Latin "Sericum", the French "Soie", the German "Seide" and the English "Silk". According to a Chinese work called the *Silkworm Classic*, a queen by the name of Si-ling-chi first encouraged the silk-industry in China in all its aspects about 2,600 B. C.⁴ A series of Asiatic Imperial Edicts testifies to the highly useful nature of this ancient Chinese art which was "best fitted to promote the morality of the people and extinguish pauperism in the empire". That China became opulent from the manufacture of this article will be evident from the fact that "till the 6th century⁵ it continued to draw considerable sums from the Roman Empire in return for silk—a given weight of silk being then sold for an equal weight of gold".⁶ In spite of the vigilant guarding of the secrets of this art by the Chinese it gradually filtered down to adjacent countries, such as Corea and Japan and ultimately radiated from its birth-place as a centre till it reached India; and subsequently further west to Khotan, Persia, the States of Central Asia and lastly to Europe.

3. It is evident from old literature on the subject that the knowledge of

The excellence of Chinese Silk—Evidence from Records.

the manufacture of silk reached India about 300 A.D.⁷ overland from the Celestial

Empire and was first established in the

valley of the Brahmaputra and in the tract lying between that river and the Ganges. The fact that the Chinese carried the art of sericulture to the highest degree of perfection will be clear from the records of the Imperial Record Department, from which we find that even towards the end of the 18th century when silk-culture in Europe was being carried on by scientific processes, the East India Company did not hesitate to indent⁸ from China the improved quality of silkworm eggs and mulberry-plants, to requisition⁹ the services of Chinese silk-experts, and lastly to seek advice¹⁰ from that country "as to the best method of cultivating white-silkworms". Mr. J. Frushard, Commercial Resident of the Company's Ganutia Factory, frankly admits the excellence of Chinese sericulture in his letter¹¹ to Lieutenant-Colonel R. Kyd, dated the 15th January 1793, by saying that "the China silk-worm is superior to Bengal one". Lieutenant-Colonel R. Kyd, Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, in his letter to the Board dated Calcutta, the 18th January, 1793, also advocated¹² the idea of utilising the British Embassy to the

⁴ *Ibid; Dictionary of universal knowledge*, by W. and R. Chambers, Vol. VIII, 1877, p. 724.

⁵ *Commercial Dictionary*, by J. R. M'Culloch, 1869, p. 1277.

⁶ *Ibid; Dictionary of Dates, etc.*, by B. Vincent, p. 1258.

⁷ *The Ency. Brit.*, 1911 (Handy Vol. Issue), Vol. 25, p. 97.

⁸ Pub. O. C.'s 18th June, 1771, No. 4; 21st June, 1773, No. 1(a); 27th August, 1788, No. 15; 30th April, 1790, No. 9, etc.

⁹ Pub. O. C. 16th February, 1791, No. 26.

¹⁰ Pub. O. C. 30th January, 1788, No. 17.

¹¹ Pub. O. C. 16th February, 1791, No. 26.

¹² *Ibid.*

Court of China in 1793 for the "benefit of the silk-manufacture in Bengal". We further find from the records¹³ that in the 18th century the province of Kiangnan was famous in China for the cultivation of the mulberry.

4. According to Sir George Watt, late Reporter on Economic Products, the "mulberry-worms of Bengal" of which we read in ancient Sanskrit books, owe their origin to China and cannot be strictly called "national" or "indigenous". The Muhammadan writers are also reticent on the "local mulberry cultivation of Bengal". These facts strongly lend colour to the view that "indigenous silk-growing and mulberry cultivation" were not an important industry in Bengal until it came into contact with the English.

5. The Company's connection with Bengal silk (*Bangala's silke*, in the records), as appears from the Factory-papers¹⁴, commences as early as 1618. Murshidabad—A centre of silk industry.

Francis Fettiplace and Robert Hughes—two

well-known servants of the Company—were then engaged in the Agra Factory in procuring this stuff for despatch to England. Murshidabad was at that time the chief centre of Bengal silk as it used to supply this article to the Company. The following tribute which the Factory records¹⁵ pay to the city of Murshidabad will be found interesting:—"Silk could be provided in infinite quantities at least 20 per cent. cheaper than in any other place of India and is of the choicest stuff; where are also innumerable silk-winders, expert workmen and labour cheaper by a third than elsewhere". Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador to the Court of Jehangir, also speaks about the cheapness of Murshidabad silk in his letter¹⁶ to the Company dated the 1st December 1619 where he "discusses about the advisability of opening a trade in Bengal silk". In order to buy silk from Murshidabad at a cheaper rate, the Company attempted to establish a factory at Patna¹⁷ in about 1620 which was destroyed by fire in March, 1621¹⁸. The Patna factors had consequently to return to their old Agra Factory. About the year 1650 it was found that for several years past Bengal silk was being regularly imported¹⁹ to England by private English traders and on the 16th of September of that year a "Meeting of the Divers Committees" decided²⁰ that private traders should be prohibited from importing silk to England on penalty of forfeiture to the Company of their entire stock.

6. Attracted by the fame of Murshidabad silk, the East India Company started a Silk-Factory at Cossimbazar, a few miles from Murshidabad, about the year

¹³ Pub. O. C. 29th March, 1793, No. 1.

¹⁴ *The English Factory records*, 1618-21, Introduction, p. V.

¹⁵ *The English Factory records*, 1618-21, Introduction, pp. V and XXIII and pp. 229-30.

¹⁶ *Letters received by the E. I. Co. from its servants in the East*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

¹⁷ *The English Factory records*, 1618-21, Introduction, p. XXIII.

¹⁸ *The English Factory records*, 1618-21, Introduction, p. XXIV.

¹⁹ *Court Minutes of the E. I. Co.*, 1650-4, pp. 51, 138, 142, 188, 199, 211, etc.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

1658²¹. Since that date down to the middle of the 18th century this Factory played a conspicuous part in the annals of the Company's raw silk trade in Bengal. The archives of the Imperial Record Department teem with papers, ranging from 1700 to 1780 on this subject. At first the silk operations of this Factory were conducted on a small scale—only 59,000²² rupees being invested in the first year. In its second year, *i.e.*, in 1659²³, owing to the civil war in Bengal and the ill-will displayed towards the Company by Mir Jumla, the celebrated General of the Emperor Aurangzeb, their silk-trading operations in Bengal were carried on under the greatest disadvantage. A letter²⁴ from Mr. John Ken, chief of the Cossimbazar Factory, dated 26th March, 1659, gives us a clear idea of the price of Cossimbazar raw silk of that year. From his letter we find "that long *taffetas* were costing from 4 rupees 8 annas to 4 rupees 12 annas each, and short ones 17 to 18 rupees a score; silk ready wound, was about 3 rupees 12 annas per seer". In spite, however, of many disadvantages, the Cossimbazar Factory continued to thrive²⁵ with the aid of European capital and organization. Mons. Tavernier²⁶ writing in 1676 speaks about Cossimbazar thus:—"Kassembasar (*sic*), a village in the Kingdom of *Bengala*, sends abroad every year two and twenty thousand bales of silk; every bale weighing a hunder'd (*sic*) pound." According to O'Malley, "out of £230,000 sent out by the E. I. Co. in 1861 as 'investment' (advance) to Bengal £140,000 was assigned to Cossimbazar alone. Letters from the Cossimbazar Factors to the Board, dated the 8th and 13th December 1759, tell us that they wanted to be supplied with at least 2 *lakhs* of rupees for the sole purpose of purchasing "November-bund"²⁷ raw silk. Four years later, *i.e.*, in 1763, we find the same Factory demanding 9 *lakhs* of rupees as advances for the purchase of silk. In 1779, Colonel Rennell²⁸ wrote about Cossimbazar Factory thus:—"Cossimbazar is the general market of Bengal silk, and a great quantity of silk are (*sic*) manufactured here, which are (*sic*) circulated throughout great part (*sic*) of Asia; of the unwrought silk, 300,000 or 400,000 lbs. weight is consumed in the European manufactories". The above facts show the rapid growth of the Cossimbazar Factory since its birth in 1658. We find, however, that in the year 1787²⁹, Lord Cornwallis recommended "that the status of the Cossimbazar Factory should be reduced from a Chiefship to a Residency".

²¹ *Hobson-Jobson*, by W. Crooke, 1903, p. 263; *Murshidabad District Gazetteer*, 1914, p. 126; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, by W. W. Hunter, 1886, p. 369.

²² *The English Factory records*, 1655-60, p. 275 (footnote).

²³ *Ibid.* p. 275, para. 1.

²⁴ *The English Factory records*, 1655-60, p. 275 (footnote).

²⁵ *Murshidabad District Gazetteer*, p. 126.

²⁶ Tavernier, E. T. II. 126 (Ball's edition, II, 2); *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 263.

²⁷ The term 'bund' is largely to be found in the records. It locally meant 'season.' There are three *bunds* or seasons for spinning the cocoons. The November-bund commences from 1 October to the end of February; the March-bund, from 1st March to 30th June; the July (or *barsat*) bund from 1st July to 30th September. (*Murshidabad District Gazetteer*, p. 130.)

²⁸ *Murshidabad District Gazetteer*, p. 127.

²⁹ Pub. O. C., 23rd February, 1787, No. 2.

Twenty-eight years after the establishment of the Cossimbazar Factory, the Company opened another important silk-agency at Malda and practically from the beginning of the 18th century, the Company made strenuous efforts to foster the production of raw silk in Bengal. Gradually the cultivation of the mulberry plants extended to all the important districts of Bengal and silk-factories were started in various parts of Bengal, notably at Kumarkhali, Sonamukhi, Radhanagar, Ghatal, Rampur Boaleah, Surpur, Ganutia, Jangipur, Sarda and Lakshmipur. We find from the Minute³⁰ of Mr. John Shore, Acting President, dated the 8th November 1784, that Mr. Close brought forward before him a proposal for establishing a silk manufactory at Rangamati.

7. The quality of Bengal silk gradually improved under the fostering care of the English and when in the year 1714 the Company sent an Embassy³¹ to the Mughal Emperor Farruksiyar under John Surman, they selected this article as one of the presents to the Great Mughal. But it appears from the records that in the year 1715 their silk-business at Cossimbazar received a check³² at the hands of the then Nawab of Bengal. Though the Emperor Farruksiyar granted permission to the English to carry on their silk-trade unmolested, the Board learnt from Mr. Samuel Feake of the Cossimbazar factory in September, 1715³³, that the Nawab Murshid Quli Khan (otherwise known as Jafar Khan) was putting serious obstacles in the way of the Company's silk-trade in Bengal "by putting *peons* on the silk-merchants". At a meeting³⁴ held on the 3rd October of the same year the Board decided that "unless the *peons* which had been put on the Company's silk-merchants at Cossimbazar be not taken away and they are allowed to go on with their business freely, the Board shall be obliged to seek their own remedy". The matter did not proceed further, for in the month of November³⁵ of that year the Nawab allowed the Company's silk-business to go on unmolested.

8. The Mahratta invasion³⁶ of Bengal during the latter half of the reign of Ali Verdi Khan (1748-56) proved a serious menace to the Company's raw silk industry in Bengal. The quality of the Bengal raw silk degenerated and its price rose to an abnormal pitch. We find from the records of 1751 that "the dearness of raw silk and silk piece-goods for some

³⁰ *Bengal Ms. Records*, by W. W. Hunter, Vol. I, p. 105.

³¹ *Early annals of the English in Bengal*, by Wilson, Vol. II, part II, Introduction, IX, XIV, and XX.

³² *Early annals of the English in Bengal*, by Wilson, Vol. II, Part I, Introduction, XLIV; see also General letter from the Court of Directors to the Board, dated London, 8th January, 1718.

³³ *Ibid*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 228; Introduction, XLIV.

³⁴ *Early annals, etc.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 228.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 233.

³⁶ General letter from the Board to the Court of Directors dated Fort William, 10th August, 1749; Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I, p. 27.

years past is owing to the Mahrattas constantly entering Bengal, plundering and burning the people's houses and destroying the chief *Aurangs* (depôts for manufactured goods) from whence the workmen have fled to distant parts." Another factor which contributed to the rise in the price of Bengal raw silk about this time was, according to the language of the records³⁷, "the extraordinary inclemency of the rainy seasons". The following interesting extract³⁸ from the letter of Warren Hastings to the Chief and Council of Cossimbazar, dated, Powa (sic) the 19th December 1755, throws a flood of light on this point and also on the topography of the Eastern

Bengal of that period:—"The country on this (eastern) side of the river Pudma is in general very low and marshy, specially those places which are situated at the greatest distance from the river, so that any extraordinary inclemency of the rainy seasons is much more sensibly felt here than any other places. The excessive quantity of rain which fell three years ago, besides the universal damage it occasioned, entirely overwhelmed a large tract of land about 11 or 12 *Coses* to the eastward of this place and dispersed or destroyed the greatest part of the inhabitants whose livelihood depended entirely on the *building of the silkworms* by which means the quantity of silk is greatly diminished from that produced before this unhappy event, to which I may add the difference between the land-tax now and five years ago, in which interval it has been annually increasing and is now more than double the amount of the revenues collected formerly". There were loud complaints³⁹ amongst the silk-buyers and weavers of England against

English weavers resent introduction of degenerated Bengal raw silk into England. Bengal silk and silk-riots⁴⁰ actually occurred in Spitalfields to protest against its introduction in England. It was not, however,

till the Company obtained possession of Bengal that systematic efforts were made to improve the quality of Bengal raw silk. At the instance of the silk-weavers of England, the Court of Directors sent Mr. Richard Wilder⁴¹ in 1757 to Cossimbazar on the ship *Elizabeth* to investigate the causes of the defective quality of Bengal raw silk. It appears from the papers⁴² that Mr. Wilder

Court of Directors' efforts to improve the quality of Bengal raw silk. remained in Bengal for nearly four years, during which period he did useful service to the raw silk industry of Bengal by inventing⁴³ a machine for winding silk", teaching⁴⁴ the art of silk-reeling to the

³⁷ Pub. progs. Vol. 1755, p. 565.

³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 565-6.

³⁹ Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I, p. 84 (footnote).

⁴⁰ *Malda District Gazetteer*, p. 63.

⁴¹ General letter from the Court of Directors to the Board dated London, 25th March, 1757, paras. 140 and 146; Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I, p. 84.

⁴² Pub. progs. Vol. 1760, p. 538.

⁴³ Pub. progs. Vol. 1759, pp. 27-9.

⁴⁴ General letter from the Board to the Court of Directors dated 29th December, 1759.

villagers inhabiting the eastern side of the river Pudma and visiting⁴⁵ the different silk-factories of the Company. His letter⁴⁶ to the Board dated Calcutta, the 14th July 1760, contains several useful suggestions on the "reeling, knotting and winding" of raw silk and gives a vivid account of the state of Bengal raw silk of that period. His silk-winding machine was found highly useful⁴⁷ by the Cossimbazar Factors and considerably remedied their defective silk-winding.

9. The servant of the East India Company in Bengal were no less busy than their masters at home to improve the E. I. Co.'s efforts to improve the quality of Bengal raw silk. On the 10th of Bengal raw silk. November, 1763, Mr. Joseph Pouchon⁴⁸ offered his services to the Board "to improve the growth of Bengal silkworm and thereby to increase the quantity of raw silk"—an offer which was readily accepted. His letter⁴⁹ which throws light on the consumption of Bengal raw silk in England in the first half of the 18th century is given in Appendix A for ready reference at the end of the paper. In 1767 Mr. H. Verelst, Governor of Bengal, took keen interest in the improvement of the Company's silk by "personally urging the *Zamindars* gathered at Murshidabad for the ceremony of *Puniya*⁵⁰ to give all possible encouragements to the cultivation of mulberry". Mr. F. Sykes⁵¹, Resident at Murshidabad, also in 1767 did useful service by advocating the Company's investment in the raw silk of Bengal. In 1769 some Italian⁵² silk-reelers were imported to Bengal, and it appears from Italian mode of silk reeling in Bengal. the "Proceedings⁵³ of the Committee of Commerce", dated the 5th March 1772, that the Company did their utmost "to introduce the Italian mode of reeling amongst the native silk-reelers"—a step which was productive of great improvement in the quality of this article. Consultation of the Board of Trade dated the 30th January 1776, shows that Mr. G. Williamson, Superintendent of Silk Investment, Calcutta, made silk-culture his special study and wrote in the year 1775 a treatise in which he, among other things, described the proper places for the rearing of silk-worms, soil for mulberry plants, method of hatching eggs and of feeding the silk-worms, their sickness and treatment, formation of silk pods and the mode of sorting them and finally, of reeling silk.

⁴⁵ Pub. progs. Vol. 1760, p. 538.

⁴⁶ Pub. progs. Vol. 1760, pp. 474-87.

⁴⁷ General letter from the Board to the Court of Directors, dated 29th December, 1759.

⁴⁸ Pub. progs., Vol. 1763, pp. 1342-3; Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, 1748-67, Vol. I, p. 337.

⁴⁹ Long's *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Vol. I, p. 337.

⁵⁰ In the lower provinces of Bengal, *Puniya* is the day on which the revenue for the ensuing year is settled; or an annual meeting of the cultivating tenants at the Courts of *Zamindar* to determine the amount of assessment; the assemblage of the rent-payers forming a kind of festival or holiday. (H. H. Wilson.)

⁵¹ Select Committee press list Vol. 1756-74, p. 89. (Letter from F. Sykes to the Board, dated Motijhil, 6th March, 1767.)

⁵² Pub. O. C. 13th November, 1770, No. 4 (b).

⁵³ Pub. O. C. 25th May, 1772, No. 1 (b).

⁵⁴ I. O. Progs., Vol. (Home), 1772-3, pp. 27-38.

10. Though the above facts conclusively show the efforts both of the Court of Directors at home and their servants in Bengal silk suffers check—its reasons. Bengal to improve the quality of Bengal raw silk, some unforeseen causes⁵⁴ arose at this juncture which greatly thwarted their endeavours. These were, (1) the method of carrying out the Company's silk investment by their own agents or *gumashtas*, (2) the Great Famine of 1769-70, "which swept away one-third of the entire population which subsisted by the cultivation of silk", (3) the "Agreement made with the cultivators to allow them the same price for the cocoons as these would yield if converted into *putney*", and (4) the "competition between the Superintendents at Kumarkhali and Boaleah Factories and the different *gumashtas* employed by them and the Factory". The steps which the Board proposed in their Meeting held at Cossimbazar on the 25th August, 1772, to remove these causes are clearly described in the records⁵⁵. The first cause, which is of some historical interest requires a short explanation. Up to 1753⁵⁶ the Company procured Bengal silk through Indian merchants—the most prominent of whom was Omi Chand. As their honesty was doubted, the Company resolved thenceforth to secure silk direct from the weavers by means of their agents or *gumashtas*. These *gumashtas*

The effects of *Gumashtha* oppression on "under the sanction of the Company's Bengal silk. name" and "under the pretence of securing

an investment for the Company" began to practise the "most unbounded tyranny and extortion on all manufacturers and weavers of silk" for their own selfish ends. Their oppression over the poor silk *ryots* form a series of woeful tales. For a detailed account the student may be referred to the records⁵⁷ of the Imperial Record Department, and to a paper entitled *Considerations on India affairs*, (London, 1772), pp. 191-94. The effect of the *gumashta*-system was "that the silk-trade and the revenues of the Company in Bengal were greatly reduced". Mr. Verelst in his letter to the Board, dated Nashedbag (sic), the 5th June 1796, says⁵⁸:—"these (*gumashta*'s) oppressions have reduced the trade of hitherto rich and populous districts of Bengal to the lowest ebb". He further adds in the same letter: "the quantity of Cossimbazar raw silk from 1750 to 1757 was as high as 23,000 maunds yearly and never lower than 12,000. From that period it has made a sensible decrease and since our possessing the *Dewany*, it has rather fallen short of 7,000 maunds. Mr. R. Becher's letters to the Board from Motijhil, dated the 30th January, the 14th February and 7th May, 1760, also make the following significant revelations in connection with the decline of silk due to *gumashta* oppression: "There is not now half the silk produced in Cossimbazar and other places in Bengal that there was twenty years ago and if the present

⁵⁴ I. O. Progs., Vol. (Home), 1772-3, pp. 27-33.

⁵⁵ Early records to British India, by J. T. Wheeler, p. 225; A short history of Calcutta, by A. K. Ray, 1902, p. 118. (Census Vol.).

⁵⁶ Pub. O. C. 19th June, 1769, Nos. 1, 1(1) and 1(2); Pub. O. C. 24th May, 1773, No. 6.

⁵⁷ Pub. O. C. 19th June, 1769, No. 1.

Oppressive *gumashtha* system continues it will decrease annually". Again we find: "I well remember Bengal when trade was free and the flourishing state it was then in. With concern I now see its present ruinous condition, which I am convinced is greatly owing to the monopoly that has of late years been made in the Company's name of almost all the manufactures in the country." For the "welfare of the Company's silk trade in Bengal," Mr. H. Verelst suggested certain regulations⁵⁹ in his letter to Mr. W. Aldersey, Chief of Cossimbazar, dated the 18th May, 1769, which are given at the end of this paper. In spite, however, of the aforesaid four disadvantages—thanks to British energy—the production of raw silk in Bengal showed so marked a

success that "there came a boom in the Bengal silk-trade between 1760 and 1790"—a

view which has been endorsed by Mr. Geoghegan in his work, *Silk in India* (p. 5). As the supply of Bengal raw silk to Europe fluctuated greatly between 1793 and 1835, a table showing the fluctuations (Appendix C), given at the end of the paper, will, perhaps, be found interesting.

11. Though from the records of 1769 we find that the Company did its best

Bengal silk-fabrics not favoured in Bengal and to further its trade, we cannot England. hide from ourselves the fact that the Court

of Directors in England did not show any favour to the manufacture of silk-fabrics in Bengal. Their obvious object was to please the silk dealers of England. In their General Letter to the Board, dated the 17th March, 1769, the Court of Directors "desired that the manufacture of 'raw silk' should be encouraged in Bengal and that of 'silk-fabrics' be discouraged."⁶⁰ They also "recommended that the silk-winders should be forced to work in the Company's Factories and prohibited from working in their own homes under severe penalties by the authority of the Government." This mandate had its desired effect. The manufacture of silk piece-goods declined in Bengal and the people who had *exported* these stuffs to the markets of Europe and Asia in previous centuries began to *import* them in increasing quantities.

12. We find from the papers of the year 1780 that the price of Bengal silk

Dearness of silk. rose⁶¹ "owing to an increased demand and the Italian mode of winding"—a system

about which the Dutch put in their complaint; they were however informed that under the circumstances their complaint could not be remedied. In 1783 the Company threw open⁶² their silk-trade to the private individuals, a step

Silk trade thrown open to private individuals. which was highly resented by the Board of Trade. An interesting point in connec-

⁵⁹ Appendix B.

⁶⁰ In this connection the research student is referred to a very rare book entitled *Reasons humbly offered for the passing of a Bill for hindering the Home consumption of East-Indies Silks, Bengals, etc.*, printed by F. Bradford in New Street, London, 1697.

⁶¹ Pub. O. C., 24th January, 1780, No. 1.

⁶² Pub. O. C. 19th May, 1783, No. 10.

tion with the Bengal silk trade about this period comes to light from the Public Department and the Duncan records⁶³ of 1783-4. We find from these papers that at this period a band of merchants, who styled themselves as *Sannyasis* (religious Hindu mendicants), began to trade in raw silk and silk-goods from Bengal to the Deccan. They were remarkable for their wealth and for their integrity in all commercial transactions. Those who resided at Benares and in the Company's dominions purchased the goods in Bengal and transported them to Mirzapore where they sold or delivered them to merchants of their own sect who came annually there for this purpose from the Deccan. These records bring to light their complaints to Jagatdev Sing, *Naib* of Raja Mahepat Narain, against the establishment of the "Permit" or Custom House in the district of Benares and the consequent enhancement of silk duties and also embody the "Regulations for the management and collection of the customs on the import and export silk trade of the province of Benares." Gradually, the

Mulberry Cultivation in Bihar. cultivation of mulberry spread from Bengal to Bihar and it appears from the papers⁶⁴ that in 1788, Mr. J. Henderson (Senior), Surgeon of Gaya, made an attempt to "rear silk-worms and the mulberry plant in Bihar"—an attempt which proved highly successful. In that province the manufacture of silk also made great progress under Mr. Burt⁶⁵ in the same year. About this time Mr. T. Law,⁶⁶ Collector of Gaya, tried to encourage this industry in his district and Lieutenant-Colonel R. Kyd, Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Cal-

Mulberry Cultivation in the Botanical cutta, actually introduced mulberry cultivation in the Botanical Gardens. We find from Colonel Kyd's letter⁶⁷ to the Board, dated the 21st October, 1788:—"The trees and insects producing *mugga-dhuti* silk had been introduced in the Gardens." From a further letter to the Board dated the 28th November, 1788⁶⁸ we see that "China silk-worm mulberry" was also being cultivated in the Botanical Gardens. Gradually the Botanical Gardens became a nursery for the supply of silk-worms and mulberry plants, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kyd issued an advertisement⁶⁹ in 1788 to the effect that "persons rearing silk-worms would be furnished with China silk-worm mulberry free of cost from the Botanical Gardens." It appears from the records of 1789 that the district of Rajshahi proved to be a very suitable place for the growth of silk-worms and the cultivation of mulberry plants. A letter⁷⁰ from Mr. M. Atkinson,

⁶³ Pub. Progs., Vol. 1787, pp. 5554-62. (*Paper of requests*, dated 7 *Muharram*, 1191, *Fasli*, or 3rd December, 1784); *Selections from the Duncan Records*, by A. Shakespear, Vol. II, 1873, pp. 16-19, 45-6 and 113-14.

⁶⁴ Pub. O. C., 30th May, 1788, No. 33.

⁶⁵ Press list of I. O., Vol. 1787-99, Vol. II, p. 45. General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 5th November, 1789.

⁶⁶ Pub. O. C., 25th June, 1788, No. 27.

⁶⁷ Pub. O. C., 29th October, 1788, No. 26.

⁶⁸ Pub. O. C., 28th November, 1788, No. 3.

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ Pub. O. C., 13th February, 1789, No. 16.

Assistant Collector of Rajshahi, to Lieutenant-Colonel R. Kyd, dated Muradbag, the 7th February, 1789, says: "China silk-worms have increased very fast in Rajshahi and that he may be supplied with some more mulberry plants from the Botanical Gardens." In 1791⁷¹ the Government of Fort St. George

Culture of cocoons in Mysore. sent Mr. R. S. Corbett to Bengal to qualify himself in the manufacture of silk and four years later, i.e., in 1795, Tipu Sultan is said to have introduced the culture of cocoons into Mysore which for many years continued to flourish.

13. The Company continued its silk operations in Bengal until 1835⁷² when Company's connection with Bengal silk it gave up its commercial monopoly and thus ceases. the connection of the East India Company with Bengal silk came to an end. They could not however suddenly throw out of employment the people engaged in silk production and hence their silk factories were not entirely disposed of till 1837. After this large European firms such as Messrs. Watson & Co., James Lyall & Co., Louis Payen & Co., and the Bengal Silk Company came into the field. In this connection the report⁷³ of the Silk Committee on the 'wild silk of Bengal' dated Calcutta, the 12th March, 1838, will be found interesting. Later developments in the silk industry of Bengal are more or less of modern interest and are open to research of students of current commercial activities.

⁷¹ Pub. Progs., Vol. 1791, pp. 3336-7; Press list of I. O. documents, 1787-99, Vol. II, p. 66.

⁷² According to W. W. Hunter, upto 1833.

⁷³ *Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India*, Vol. VI, 1839, pp. 37-8.

APPENDIX A.

To

THE HON'BLE HENRY VANSITTART, Esq.,
PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, AND COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN,

The consumption of silk being very considerable in England, and for to give you a more just idea of it, is that since these 36 years past that I have lived in London, the consumption was then but about 3,500 bales per annum and gradually it has increased till now to about 16,000 bales, and by the knowledge that I have of that branch of trade from its beginning to the end, and having examined since I have been in this part of the world that the air and soil are extremely good for Mulberry Trees, I am persuaded that with some proper alterations (by no means attended with any more expenses nor labour to the poor people in the countries where the silk grows than before) we can raise silk-worms to some degree of perfection and make good cocoons, which is the principal article and by this means we may flatter ourselves to produce good silk to the great advantage of the Company, and in time it would save a great deal of money to England, and moreover increase greatly the revenues of this country. Therefore, Gentlemen, I take the liberty to present you this plan in offering you my humble services, not only in that but in anything else that you will think I am capable to do for the good of the Company.

I have the honour to be,

with great respect, gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most

humble servant,

(Sd.) JOSEPH POUCHON.

CALCUTTA,
10th November, 1763.

APPENDIX B.

Regulations for the welfare of the Silk Trade of the Company in Bengal.

1. No force whatever is to be used to oblige the *Asamis*¹ to the disposal of their *putney*² to the Company or any individuals in their service; who for recovery of their just balances which may appear due to them are to make application to the officers of the Government who will on such application grant to the claimant or his constituent such aid as the circumstance may require.

2. That all *putney* delivered in be received under the seal of the *pycar*³ or *chassar* with a note enclosed specifying the proprietor's name and its weight; and not to be opened but in the presence of the proprietor or his constituent, weighman and at least three other persons. The weighman to be approved of by both the seller and the purchaser.

3. The *seer* to be established at 76 *sicca* weight and no more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a *chittac* per *seer* to be taken either on public or private account for the turn of the scale.

4. As from the imposition in the weight heretofore received and which is now annulled the *pycars* have oppressed the *chassars* by an addition of 20 or 25 *sicca* weight on the country *seer* of 200 *sicca* weight, the officer of the Government is to be directed immediately to make known throughout the district that it is from henceforward to be discontinued.

5. All monies advanced for *putney* either public or private to be in *Sunnaut*⁴ rupees, or an equitable *batta* to be allowed on any other kind of rupees agreeable to the rate they may bear at common sale in the bazar the day such advances are made.

6. No goods whatever shall be imposed upon the *pycar* or *chassar* for advances for *putney*, under the penalty of a forfeiture to the Government of all goods so imposed upon them.

7. Any *pycar* or *chassar* who may deliver in *putney* shall if he thinks himself injured in the prizing of it have liberty to appeal for redress to the Chief at Cossimbazar, and provided that advances have been made for such *putney*, the same may be secured under seal until the price can be finally determined by the Chief; and for the more effectual redress of the proprietor he shall be

¹ "Purchasers."

² Goods commissioned or manufactured to order.

³ An intermediate dealer or broker. *Pycars* are a chain of agents through whose hands the articles of merchandise pass from the loom of the manufacturer, or the store-house of the cultivator, to the public merchant or exporter. (*Hobson-Jobson*, by W. Crooke, 1903, p. 703).

⁴ The word is properly *Sanvat*, plural of Arabic *sana*(*t*), a year. *Sanvat* rupee was equivalent in value to the Furukhabad rupee or the modern "Company's Rupees" (which was of the same standard). (*Hobson-Jobson*), p. 775.

allowed musters of the said *putney* and produce the same with an attestation of the price it bore in the bazar on the day it was prized; and it shall be deemed a sufficient cause for complaint should the *putney* of any *pycar* or *chassar* be prized at an underrate to what the said goods bear in the public market; calculating and deducting a reasonable allowance on any advance that may be made for the said goods on account of interest and risk during the time of advance, but this allowance is on no account to exceed the rate of 15 per cent. per annum on the real value of the said goods.

Addendum.—For the more effectually ascertaining of which, the *pycar* or *chassar* should produce under the seal and signature of the *Daroga* of the market or acting officer of the district an attestation of the price such silk bore in the market on the day it was prized.

8. The practice of obliging private purchasers to bring their goods to the factory under pretence of examination and attachment of the Company's assortments to be immediately discontinued; unless complaint is first made and that supported by at least two evidences that the same has been purchased with the Company's advances; but on no account else whatever. In such a case a district report with the depositions of the evidences should be transmitted to the Chief and the goods detained until his determination be known.

9. No servants whatever or their dependants are in future to receive any *nazaranas* or presents from the merchant, *pycar* or *chassar* on any pretence, under penalty of public dismissal (sic) from the service and other punishments according to the nature and extent of the offence.

10. No *sardars* or others employed for the winding of the silk to be sent out to seize the winders or necessitate them by compulsion to work; but in case of desertion, the officer of the Government to be applied to for redress. For which purpose a list of all those at present employed in the Company's service specifying the places of their abode should be delivered him.

11. Complaints are made that the *sardar's* accounts with the winders have not been adjusted for a considerable time past, and that under pretences of one kind or another two-thirds of their daily pay are withheld from them. This can only be adjusted by an arbitration. After an examination of their accounts for this purpose I would recommend that the winders nominate one person, the *sardars* another, and these two a third to ascertain the demands. A few hundred rupees may be given these persons as a reward for so laborious and intricate a work. It may likewise secure their integrity.

12. Complaints are also made that the Overseers beat and ill-treat the winders. As these poor people receive the reward of their labours in proportion to their work, the Overseers should not be allowed to exert their tyranny; but in case of idleness (which can easily be ascertained by the Overseers at the close of the day bringing the work and workmen to the Resident) they may, if example is necessary, be punished by his directions, but by no other order whatever.

13. As an encouragement to the winder it will be necessary that it should be made known to him what demand he has a right to make on his *sardar* for every *chitac* he winds off, which heretofore he has been at a loss to do from the many exaction of his *sardar* on account of *batta*, custom and *dusturies*. Of the 30 rupees per maund allowed by the Company 25 at least should go to the winder which will amply recompense him for his labours.

14. The *cutchery* established and maintained under the direction of the Resident is discontinued, and all such matters as were usually determined there are, in future, to be heard by the officer of the Government and which if not properly redressed the Resident is to apply to the Chief of Cossimbazar.

APPENDIX C.

Table showing the fluctuations in the supply of Raw Silk from Bengal to Europe, 1793 to 1835.

Year.	Weight of silk supplied in "lbs."
1793	677,988
1794	494,487
1795	379,543
1796	340,060
1797	88,219
1798	352,780
1799	643,803
1800	454,600
1801	310,368
1802	78,950
1803	336,189
1804	415,917
1805	460,303
1806	235,215
1807	225,984
1808	325,243
1809	116,124
1810	373,598
1811	258,953

Year.	Weight of silk supplied in "lbs."
1812	558,862
1813	831,891
1814	722,727
1815	522,810
1816	381,215
1817	373,459
1818	758,116
1819	553,105
1820	811,875
1821	817,625
1822	845,382
1823	850,668
1824	660,012
1825	699,230
1826	898,388
1827	926,678
1828	1,039,623
1829	1,129,710
1830	1,096,071
1831	1,030,280
1832	750,828
1833	698,851
1834	757,517
1835	721,509

Minutes of the proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission—held at the Council Hall, Poona, on Tuesday, the 13th January 1925.

Present:

1. The Hon'ble Sir EVAN COTTON, Kt., C.I.E. (in the chair).
2. Prof. JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., I.E.S. (Bihar & Orissa).
3. Mr. C. W. GURNER, I.C.S. (Bengal).
4. Mr. H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona (Local Secretary for the Poona session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Co-opted).
5. Mr. M. S. COMMISSARIAT, Professor of History, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad (Co-opted).
6. Professor D. V. POTDAR, New Poona College, Poona (Co-opted).
7. Sardar G. N. MUJUMDAR, M.L.C., Poona (Co-opted).
8. Mr. F. B. P. LORY, I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay (Co-opted).
9. Mr. G. S. SARDESAI, Baroda (Co-opted).
10. Mr. R. K. RANADIVE, Baroda (Co-opted).
11. Mr. J. M. MEHTA, Baroda (Co-opted).
12. Mr. N. V. PHADKE, Indore (Co-opted).
13. Mr. T. B. GOGATE, Indore (Co-opted).
14. Mr. R. A. PRABHAVALKAR, Kolhapur (Co-opted).
15. Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D., Madras University (Co-opted).
16. Mr. J. F. GENNINGS, Bar.-at-law, Director of Information, Bombay (Co-opted).
17. Mr. R. D. MEHTA, C.I.E., Calcutta (Co-opted).
18. Mr. A. F. M. ABDUL 'ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A. (Secretary).

The Hon'ble Mr. BHASKARRAV JADHAV, Minister of Education, Bombay and Monsieur SINGARAVELU PILLAI, Curator of the Old Records of the French India, Pondicherry, were present by special invitation.

I.—Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their sixth meeting.

A conspectus of the resolutions passed at and the actions taken since the previous session was placed on the table.

Action taken on Resolutions 1—8 and on the first part of Resolution 9 was approved by the Commission, but it was decided to repeat the request to the Government of Madras to appoint a Persian-knowing assistant to examine and classify the Carnatic records in the Madras Record Office.

II.—Increase in Commission's Allotment.

One or two members having drawn attention to the difficulties caused by the reduced budget grant of the Commission, it was resolved:—

Resolution I.—“ That it be very strongly recommended to the Government of India that the budget grant of the Indian Historical Records Commission be increased by Rs. 2,000 for meeting the expenses of the Historical Exhibition and contingent charges.”

III.—Miscellaneous Matters.

The Secretary read the replies from Local Governments regarding the preservation of records in the Collector's offices of the various districts, and from these it seemed clear that in most cases these records were carefully preserved, and in some cases regularly listed, although the Chairman suggested that it would be better if the Nasik records could be kept on open shelves rather than in boxes.

An interesting discussion ensued on the statement made by Professor Rawlinson that the Bombay Government had issued orders to gazetted officers to sort and destroy all official papers previous to 1856, those of economic and historic importance excepted, the officers, of course, being the judge of the historical value of the papers. This order, Mr. Gurner pointed out, was in direct contradiction to the Government of India's order that no papers of any kind dealing with matters prior to 1858 were to be destroyed. Professor Rawlinson said that the Bombay rule was based on what is known as Anderson's system. It was resolved:—

Resolution II.—“ That the attention of the Governments of Bombay and Madras be drawn to the policy of the Government of India regarding the preservation of historical documents, and that the destruction of all records previous to 1856 be discontinued, and that the said records be classified.”

IV.—Military Records.

Professor Rawlinson having raised the question of the destruction of Military Records, it was resolved:—

Resolution III.—"That the Military Department be requested to state for the information of the Commission their policy as to the preservation, classification and publication of their Records at Bombay and Madras."

V.—Increased Publishing Funds.

Mr. Gurner next raised the question of obtaining funds from Local Governments for publishing the results of historical research, and it was resolved:—

Resolution IV.—"That this Commission recommends to Local Governments to increase their expenditure on the publication of their public records."

VI.—The Poona Daftar.

Considerable discussion circled around the question of the Poona Daftar, Dr. Harold Mann and Professor Sarkar handing in written suggestions for dealing with the matter, and Professor Potdar wishing to move a resolution calling for a Committee of direction for the Daftar. It was generally agreed that for the present it is essential to leave the tabulated administrative documents out of consideration, and to concentrate their attention on the host of unsorted bundles, both Persian and Modi. In view of the fact that the Governor of Bombay had asked for a concrete proposal on this subject, the Commission passed the following resolution:—

Resolution V.—"This Commission recommends to the Government of Bombay that an expert be placed on special duty to prepare a handlist of the unsorted and unclassified *rumals* in the Poona Daftar."

VII.—Poona Residency Records.

A brief discussion of the Poona Residency Records resulted in the passing of the following resolution:—

Resolution VI.—"This Commission recommends to the Government of Bombay that a calendar of the Poona Residency Records be prepared."

VIII.—European Burial Grounds.

A list of the inscriptions on the graves in the various European Burial Grounds in the Bombay Presidency was placed on the table by the Secretary. In this connection it was resolved:—

Resolution VII.—"That the Government of Bombay be requested to print selected inscriptions from the graveyards of European settlements previous to 1800."

The Secretary was asked to write for a list of the inscriptions on the tombs in the four Surat cemeteries which were wanting in the list placed on the table.

IX.—Annual Provincial Reports.

The Annual Reports of the different Provincial Records Offices were next placed on the table. The Secretary was asked to write reminders to the Governments of Punjab, Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa whose reports had not yet been received.

X.—Next Session.

Resolution VIII.—“ That the next Session of the Commission be held at Lahore on a date to be fixed by the Secretary in consultation with the Government of India, but not later than the middle of November 1925; and that henceforth the meetings be held in November or December every year, instead of January.”

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their 6th Meeting.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
<p><i>Resolution I.</i>—That the Secretary should remind the Government of India on the subject of the creation of a Record Office in the United Provinces. (See Res. IV—5th meeting and Res. IX—4th meeting).</p>	<p>The Government of India enquired if any orders were passed by the local Government on the subject.</p>	<p>The Local Government informed that the appointment of a Record Officer was postponed in 1921 owing to financial stringency. The question had been considered on several occasions afterwards but nothing could be done as the financial position had not improved. The local Government has kept the matter in view.</p>	
<p><i>Resolution II.</i>—That the Government of India be approached at once with a view to urging the Government of Bombay to provide racks for the records in the Original Side of the Bombay High Court which were lying on floor.</p>	<p>The Resolution was brought to the notice of the local Government for consideration.</p>	<p>The Government of Bombay have informed that racks have since been provided and the records have been shifted to them.</p>	
<p><i>Resolution III.</i>—That deputations to Indian States for examining State Records be not restricted to members of the Commission, and that an enquiry be made of the Kolhapur and Kapurthala Darbars as to the nature of their records. Professor J. N. Sarkar expressed his willingness to go to</p>	<p>The resolution was approved by the Government of India and the Commission was directed to take necessary action on it in direct consultation with the Indian States concerned and to inform the Department of Education, Health and Lands in due</p>	<p>Professor Sarkar expressed his inability to visit the States and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis wanted to know the language in</p>	

APPENDIX

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their 6th Meeting—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
Alwar and possibly Chamba (climate permitting) and it was decided to invite Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnus to go to Kolhapur.	course of the action taken by the Commission.	which records of the Kolhapur State are kept. An enquiry was made about the language in which the records in the States which have asked for Commission's help are kept and the replies so far received show that Chamba possesses a collection of historical records in Persian and Takra consisting mainly of correspondence with the Moghul Court and the neighbouring hill States and dating back to the time of Shah Jehan. Records of the Kaphurthala State are in Persian, Urdu and English, those in Rewa are in Hindi and those in Kashmir are in Dogri, Urdu or Persian. Replies from Alwar and Kolhapur are still due. Rewa Darbar also requests to be	

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their 6th Meeting—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
<i>Resolution IV.</i> —That the Commission should have corresponding members at various centres but such members should not have any voice in the affairs of the Commission.	The Government of India approved Resolutions IV and V and directed that steps should be taken to invite the local co-opted members of the 6th session to become corresponding members for the Madras Presidency and to select corresponding members for other suitable centres.	informed about the approximate expenditure likely to be incurred in the deputation of one or two members of the Indian Historical Records Commission to examine the Darbar Records.	The local co-opted members of the Madras Session have agreed to serve as corresponding members for that Presidency. Corresponding Members for other centres have also been approved by the Government of India. A list is attached herewith.
<i>Resolution V.</i> —That the local Co-opted members of the sixth session, namely :— Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S., Dr. John Mathai, B.L., B. Litt., D.Sc., M.L.C., The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, C.I.E., I.S.O., Mr. M. Ratnaswami, M.L.C., Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., I.C.S., Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, be requested to become corresponding members for the Madras Presidency. The selection of corresponding members for the other provinces of India was left to the Chairman and the Secretary who were to make recommendations to the Government of India after informally consulting members of the Commission and others interested in historical research.		....

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their 6th Meeting—concl.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
<p><i>Resolution VI.</i>—That the Government of India be moved to inquire from the Government of Burma regarding the present position about the proposed establishment of a Provincial Record Office at Rangoon and to recommend that a Curator may be appointed without further delay.</p>	<p>The Government of India enquired of the local Government about the position in regard to the appointment of a Provincial Record Officer in Rangoon.</p>		
<p><i>Resolution VII.</i>—That the Government of India may be requested to sanction the immediate publication of the hand-book as it will materially assist students of history, enable local Committees to give their opinion as to the value of a particular document, and help the record office in answering questions relating to the records.</p>	<p>The Government of India approved the resolution.</p>	<p>....</p>	<p>The hand-book is now in proof and will shortly be out. A proof copy is laid on the table.</p>
<p><i>Resolution VIII.</i>—That the next session of the Commission be held at Poona and that Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnus be requested to bring his collection of exhibits to Poona if possible.</p>	<p>The Government of India approved the resolution.</p>	<p>....</p>	<p>Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnus has promised to bring a part of his collection of exhibits to Poona.</p>
<p><i>Resolution IX.</i>—That the Government of India be requested to urge upon the Government of Madras the necessity of appointing at an early date (1) a Keeper with necessary qualifications for research work, to the Madras Record Office on such terms and conditions as the local Government deem fit, and (2) that a Persian-knowing assistant be appointed to examine and classify the Carnatic records in the Madras Record Office.</p>	<p>The Resolution was brought to the notice of the local Government for consideration.</p>	<p>....</p>	<p>....</p>

APPENDIX A.

Corresponding Members for the Provinces other than the Madras Presidency.

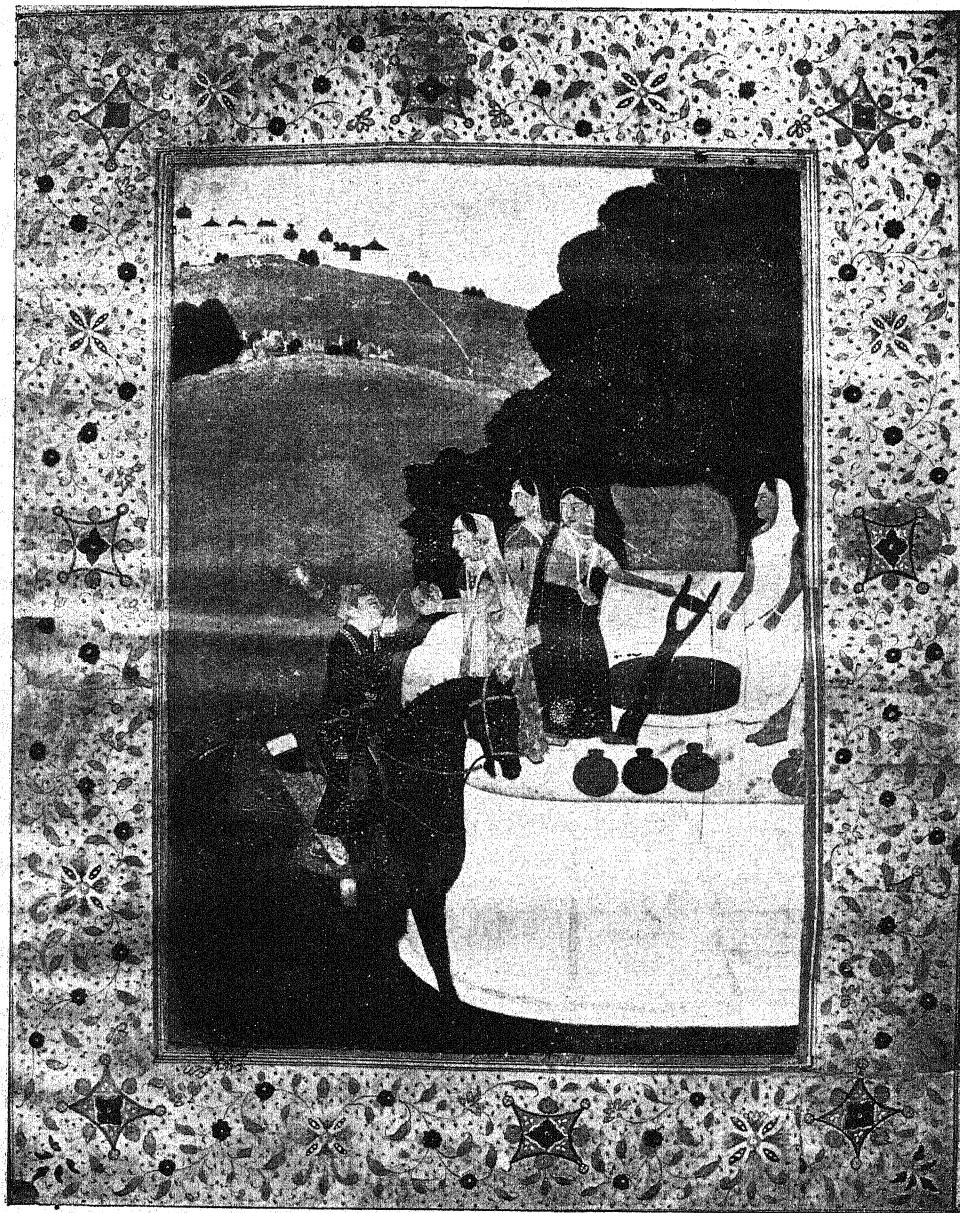
<i>Names.</i>	<i>Centres.</i>
Mr. R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, M.A., M.B.E., Principal, Hooghly College	
Dr. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., Ph.D.	
Reverend H. HOSTEN, S.J.	
SHAMS-UL-ULAMA, Khan Bahadur MAULAVI HIDAYAT HUSAIN	Calcutta.
Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University	
(Mr. A. F. RAHAMAN, B.A. (Oxon.), M.L.C.	
Mr. J. C. SINHA, M.A., Reader in Economics, Dacca University	Dacca.
Hakim HABIB-UR-RAHMAN, Member of the Dacca University Court	
Mr. J. F. W. JAMES, I.C.S., Registrar of the High Court of Judicature, Patna	Patna.
Mr. J. N. SAMADDAR, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.H.S., Professor of History, Patna College	
Rao Bahadur D. B. PARASNIS	Bombay.
Mr. D. G. E. HALL, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Professor of History, University of Rangoon	Rangoon.
Mr. H. L. O. GARRETT, M.A., Professor, Government College, Lahore	Lahore.

APPENDIX B.

**Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, etc.,
exhibited at Poona in connection with the seventh Session
of the Indian Historical Records Commission.**

From the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.

1. Plan of Bombay, 1767.
 - (i) Point and Fort Valovy.
 - (ii) Malabar Point and Tower.
2. Bombay, 1758 (References) Town of Bombay.
 - (a) The fort.
 - (b) The naval port.
 - (c) The port.
 - (d) The docks.
 - (e) The hospital.
 - (f) The treasury.
 - (g) The arsenal.
 - (h) The temple.
 - (i) The Catholic Chapel.
 - (j) The Government Place.
 - (m) The Staff Officers' quarters.
 - (n) The house in which the intendant lives.
 - (o) Officers' quarters.
 - (p) The barracks.
 - (q) The Council House.
 - (r) The market.
 - (s) The Fort Douglie.
 - (t) False gate.
 - (u) Port called the Island of Old Women.
 - (x) Port Douglie.
 - (y) Port called the Stony Hill.
 - (z) The country residence of the Governor of Bombay at a distance of four miles from the town.



AKBAR

As a Prince drinking at a well while returning from the chase

Exhibited by Mr. A. Ghose

(Block reproduced by kind permission of the Officer in charge, Photo-Mechanical Department, Thomason College, Roorkee)

From the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta—*contd.*

3. Plan of Cambay No. 16 March 1775. Plan of Cambay with the camping grounds for English troops at Narauset, March 1775.

(REFERENCES.)

A. The Durbar. B. The Jumma Mosque. C. The English Factory.
 D. The Garden of Neganein. E. English Camp. F. Raghoba's quarters. G. Narauset. H. Gates.

4. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India (G. G.'s Pub. Con., 24 November 1839, No. 10).

5. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, the Hon. A. Ross and the Hon. Lt.-Col. W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department: there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Prinsep's minute by the Hon. T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council. February-March 1835.

[Pub. Con., 7 Mar. 1835, No. 19 and Keep-withs.]

6. Letter from Mr. H. Verelst on the subject of the Company's investment at the Cossimbazar Factory.

[Pub. Con., 19 Jun. 1769, No. 1.]

Copy of letter from Mr. H. Verelst to Mr. William Aldersey, Chief of Cossimbazar, submitting certain Regulations for the Welfare of the Silk Trade.

[Pub. Con., 19 Jun. 1769, No. 1.]

7. Farmans relating to the English Trade in India (particularly in Bengal and Orissa) 1633-1712. These are grants or orders made by Muhammadan rulers and Governors and comprise rotographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English Translation.

8. List of English Prisoners at Pondicherry 23 Oct. 1759.

9. List of French Prisoners at Fort St. George, Oct. 10, 1759.

10. A General Abstract of the English Prisoners at Pondicherry (8 Mar. 1759).

11. Act of Exchange received with Mr. Lally's letter, dated 3 Sep. 1759.

12. Account of the French Squadron destined for India in 1759.

13. Copy of letter from Col. Clive to Admiral Watson, dated 24 Feb. 1757.

14. Copy of Admiral Watson's answer to Col. Clive, dated 27 Feb. 1757.

From the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta—contd.

15. Bill for the incorporation of the University of Calcutta with adaptations for the presidencies of Madras and Bombay.
 [Pub. Con., 12 December 1856, Nos. 54-5.]

Foreign
Department
(Persian
letters
received).

16. From Mandhuji Bhonsla.
 [10 May 1778 No. 32.]
 In view of the impending war with the French the Governor General sent under Col. Leslie re-inforcements to assist the Bombay Government.

17. From Peshwa (Narayan Rao) says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor General to do the same.
 [12 December 1778 No. 138.]

18. From Raghunath Rao. Thanks the Governor General for his sending re-inforcements to assist the Bombay Government in his behalf.
 (Bears the writer's signature.)
 [16 December 1778 No. 144.]

19. From Nana Farnavis, Minister of the Peshwa, asking the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the writer.
 [14 Nov. 1785 No. 94.]

20. Umdatul Mulk 'Asafu'd-Daullah Wala Jah Amirul Hind Zafar Jang, Nawab of Arcot. Reports that the English authorities took no steps to prevent Tipu Sultan's attack upon Poonamallee though they were informed of the danger beforehand.
 [29 January 1792 No. 49.]

21. Restoration of the Danish Settlements on the Coromandel coast.
 [Foreign Cons. 6 July 1816 Nos. 1-2.]

22. General Order by the Rt. Hon. the Governor General in Council expressing His Lordship's admiration and applause for the splendid achievements of the army under the command of H. E. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition against the French Power in Java, congratulating the Native Troops of the Bengal Army who had distinguished themselves by their valour in the most trying scenes of the war; announcing the commemoration of the victory by the distribution of medals to troops and by erecting at the Governor General's own expense a memorial to the memory of those who fell gloriously in the war.
 [Pol. Cons. 15 February 1812 Nos. 2-3.]



NAWAB HABSH KHAN
An Abyssinian officer of the time of SHAH JAHAN
Exhibited by Mr. A. Ghose
(Block reproduced by kind permission of the Officer in charge, Photo-Mechanical Department, Thomason College, Roorkee.)

From the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta—concl.

23. Plan for establishing a Route, for mail, from India to England *via* Red Sea.
 [11 September 1812 Nos. 7-9.]

24. H. T. Prinsep's narrative of Alexander's expedition to India.
 [For Miscellaneous No. 346. *Circa 1842.*]

25. Capt. G. H. Mac Gregor's fiscal, Geographical statement of the value of Jalalabad.
 [For Miscellaneous No. 328. *Circa 1838.*]

26. Address presented to Lord Canning, Governor General, by the Rajahs of the Punjab and the Chiefs of Peshawar on the occasion of his visit to those places 1859.
 [For Miscellaneous No. 384.]
 (Original in Persian together with the printed English translation.)

27. Original letter from Her Majesty the Queen Victoria to the King of Burma on his accession to the throne of Burma. (Bears the original signature of H. M. the Queen Victoria.)

28. Persian illuminated manuscripts showing different style of calligraphy.

Repairing and Binding.

29. Sample books illustrating the up-to-date method of *Repairing, Binding, Inlaying*, etc., adopted in the Imperial Record Department.

From Mr. A. Ghose, M.A., B.L.

30. Akbar drinking at a well while returning from the chase. (This picture bears the signature of the famous painter Chaterman.)

31. Habsh Khan, an Abyssinian Officer of Shah Jahan. (This picture bears the seal of the Badshah Shah Alum.)

32. Badshahzada Muhammad Azam Shah.

33. Jahangir honouring Sultan Parwiz with a rosary of pearls. (See memoirs of Jahangir by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 16.) From an illuminated manuscript of the Jahangir Nama, probably contemporary.

34. Amir Turgai, the father of Timur.
 This picture belonged to the Imperial collection and bears the seals of the Badshahs Alamgir and Farrukhsiyar.

35. Rajah Ranjit Singh.

36. Sher Shah.

From Babu Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L.

37. A Jain Scroll.
38. Geeta.
39. A Persian book printed at the Royal Press, Lucknow, before the annexation of Oudh, 1239 A. H.
40. Indian Palmistry.
41. Nana Farnavis (on glass).
42. Indian Cosmography.
43. Tibetan Banners (a very old needlework).

From Rai Manila Nahar Bahadur.

44. Charak Puja in Behar, early nineteenth century—Patna style.
45. Morning Star by Narayan Prosad.
46. Hindu God in Biratnup—Jaipur style.

From Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

47. Delhi Durbar.

From the Imperial Library.

48. Nauseurige Plan vande stadt en Casteel van Pondichery met alle 'de Nienwe Wersien die naa de Laafsle Beleegring der Engelse in As. 1748.
49. Letter, dated 16th January 1845 from Maharajah Maral Mishore Singh, to the Governor General returning thanks on receipt of Khelat.
50. Commission, dated 2nd July (1800) to examine witnesses on the part of Warren Hastings.
51. Letter, dated 21st July 1863 from Bharpur Singh, Rajah of Nabha, to Lord Elgin, presenting a *data* of fruits, etc.
52. Letter, dated 24 Zil-Hij 1259 (1844), from Muhammad Amjad Ali Shah, King of Oudh, to Lord Ellenborough, intimating that the moneys pertaining to the estate of the Begum Khud Mangil (*sic*) will be repaid into the Royal treasury.
53. The Adhrarmaramarana (*sic*). A history of the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. Translated from the Sanskrit into Persian by Anandghan, and again translated from the Persian into English (probably by Francis Gladwin), Vol. 1804.
[Contains coloured illustrations by Indian artists. The work was never printed, and perhaps was never completed.]
54. Panorama of the City of Lahore.
[Painted water-colour 1840?]

From the Imperial Library—contd.

- 55. Lucknow on the river Goomty—by Wm. Daniel—March 1835.
- 56. 18 Pictures relating to Old Army System in Company's days.
- 57. Sketches of India.—Moses.
- 58. Voyage to Surat.—1689.
- 59. Picturesque voyage to India by Daniel.

From the Sangli State.

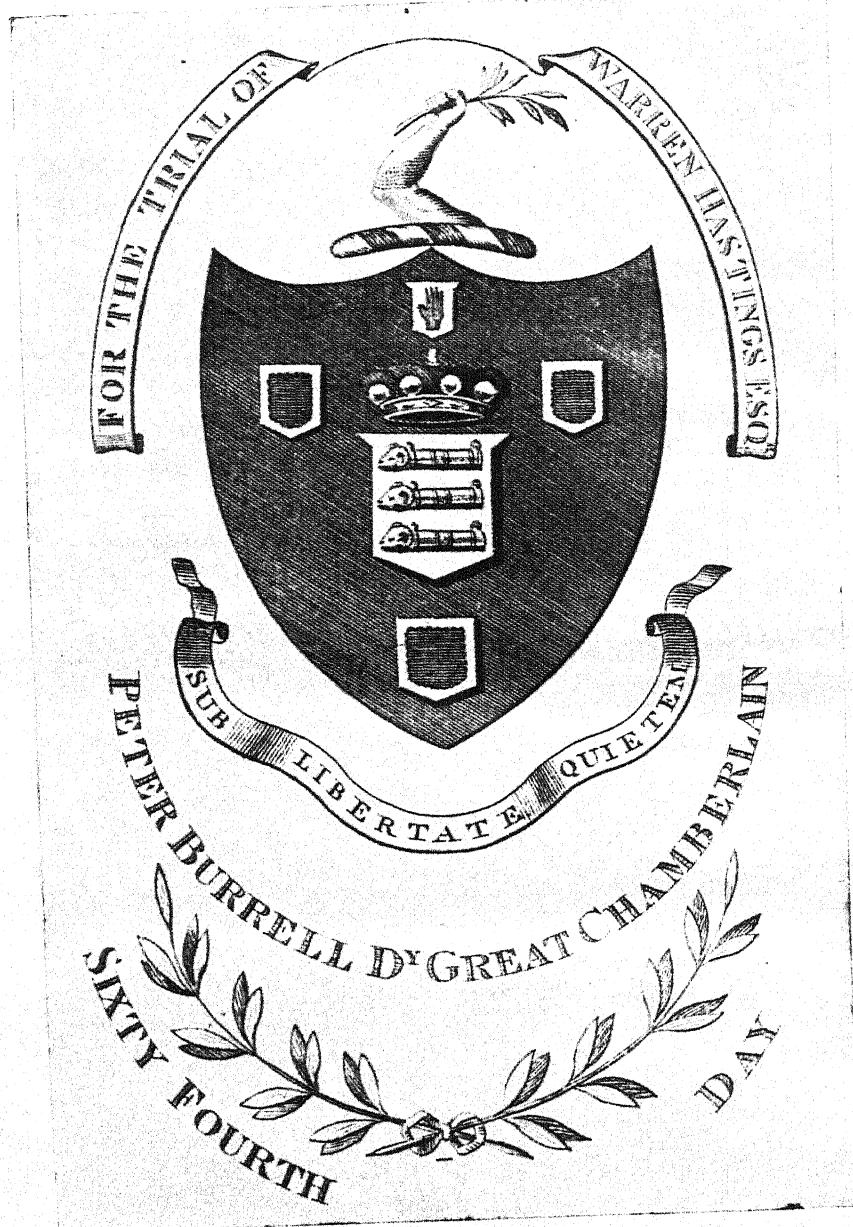
- 60. Portrait of Chintamanrao Appasaheb, 1st Chief of Sangli, specially drawn by an English Artist during the Governorship of Sir John Malcolm—1828-1830.
- 61. The Duke of Wellington. English engraving presented by the Duke in 1846 A. D.
- 62. Lord Cornwallis. Governor General of India.
- 63. The Sword presented by the East India Company, 1846, in appreciation of the valuable services and staunch loyalty of Chintamanrao to the British Government.
- 64. Old Maratha Swords and Daggers presented by the Peshwas to the Patwardhan.
- 65. Old Maratha guns used in the Mysore War by the Patwardhans.

From Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

- 66. An Album of Historical Portraits containing 46 full page magnificent Indian pictures beautifully painted in gold and colours. This album had been taken to Europe by some Dutch merchant in the 17th century. This is one of the most magnificent collections of miniature portraits of Moghul Princes, their Statesmen and other Notabilities. A 17th century contemporary list in Dutch language giving the names of personages and their rank is still preserved in the album. The following are the names of the portraits:—
 - 1. Shah Abbas. The great late Persian King.
 - 2. Shah Sulaiman. Son and descendant of Shah Abbas the great, at present reigning King.
 - 3. Shah Abbas. Son of Shah Sulaiman.
 - 4. The bow-and-arrow carrier of the King of Persia.
 - 5. Ali Adil Shah. King of Bijapur.
 - 6. Mulla Shah Abdul Maali. The Secretary of King Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur.

No. 66—*contd.*

7. Ikhlas Khan. A prominent minister of Bijapur, otherwise known by the name of Khan-Khanan.
8. Mahmud Adil Shah. The son of Ali Adil Shah King of Bijapur.
9. Husain Khan. Likewise brother of Sharazad Khan, and Vazir.
10. Hasan Khan. Also a vazir, and brother of Sharazad Khan.
11. Musa Khan. Late Commander-in-Chief (of the army) of the Kingdom of Golconda.
12. Ahmad Khan. A brother of Sharazad Khan, sar-lashkar of Kalinga or Orissa.
13. Sharazad Khan. A distinguished vazir of the Kingdom of Golconda.
14. Mirza Nasir. Late prominent vazir and minister of the Kingdom of Golconda.
15. Shah Raju. Family-priest of the present King of Golconda.
16. Sultan Abdullah Abdul Hassan Qutb Shah. Present King of Golconda.
17. Mulla Abdus Samad. Secretary of the late King of Golconda.
18. Saiyid Muhammad Ali. Eldest son of Saiyid Muzafer.
19. Khairat Khan. A general of the life-guard of this King.
20. Nekunam Khan. Late Commander-in-Chief of the Kingdom of Golconda.
21. Shah Barbak. Late vazir of the Kingdom of Golconda.
22. Shah Mirza. Late Commander of the horse of the King of Golconda.
23. Sayid Muzzaffar. Late Mir-Jumlah of the present King of Golconda.
24. Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah. King of Golconda in his old age.
25. Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah. King of Golconda as a young man.
26. Shaikh Muhammad Khatun (*sic*). Late Secretary and Councillor of the King Sultan Muhammad Quli.
27. Sultan Muhammad Quli. Father of the above-mentioned King Sultan Abdullah Abdul Hasan Qutb-Shah.
28. Mulla Samad. Late vazir of the King Sultan Muhammad Quli.
29. Fathjang Khan. A Pathan vazir of Hindustan.
30. Bhausing. A Rajput vazir of Hindustan.



TICKET OF WARREN HASTINGS' TRIAL

Exhibited by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis
(Block reproduced by kind permission of the Calcutta Historical Society)

From Rao Bahadur D. B. Paraonis—*contd.*No. 66—*contd.*

31. Aikhorrī. A vazir of Hindustan.
32. Saffshikhan Khan. A Pathan amir of Hindustan.
33. Bhausing. A Rajput vazir of Hindustan.
34. Raja Karna. A heathen amir of Hindustan.
35. Mirza Ahmed. Late brother-in-law of Sultan Abdullah Abdul-Hasan Qutb-Shah.
36. Mulla Ruhi. Secretary and Councillor of the King Sultan Abdullah Qutb-shah.
37. Muhammed Amin Khan. The son of the late mir-jumla Muhammed Said.
38. Mir-jumla Mir Muhammed Said. Late mir-jumla of the kingdom of Golconda, who has conquered Carnatic.
39. Sultan Mahmud. Son of Aurangzeb, the late son-in-law of Sultan Abdullah Qutb-Shah.
40. Sultan Muazzam. A son of Aurangzeb.
41. Aurangzeb. King of Hindustan, or otherwise known by the name of great Moghul reigned 1658-1707.
42. Murad Baksh. Youngest brother of Aurangzeb.
43. Shah Jahan.
44. Dara-Shikoh, Sultan Shuja. Brother of Aurangzeb.
45. Jahangir Padshah.
46. Akbar Padshah.
67. Line of march of a Bengal Regiment of Infantry in Scinde by Capt. F. P. Layard of 17th Bengal Native Infantry 1845.
68. An authentic Photograph of Sivaji from the original painting in the Nationale Bibliotheque, Paris.
69. Life of Sevagy (Shivaji) in Portuguese, by Cosme da Guarda, Lisbon 1730. (A scarce and important work marking the definite decline of the Portuguese power in India and the rise of the Maratha Confederacy.)
70. A manuscript book. Notes on Bengal by D. C. R. 1855 A. D.
71. Life of Shivaji by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis. An original manuscript. 1810.
72. Ticket of Warren Hastings' trial.

From Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnisi—*contd.*

ENGLISH LETTERS.

73. Autograph letter of Warren Hastings.
74. Letter of General Briggs recommending the Raja of Satara to translate the History of the Marathas by Grant Duff and publish it in Bombay A. D. 1827.
75. Original letter of Sir Barry Close, Resident at Poona, dated Poona, 4th August 1803.
76. Original letter of Sir Barry Close, dated Poona, 6th October 1803.
77. Letter of Mountstuart Elphinstone.
78. Another letter of Mountstuart Elphinstone.
79. Letter of Earl of Auckland, dated Calcutta, 17th June 1841.
80. Letter of Sir John Macnaghten from Kabul dated 20th August 1840.
81. Warrant of appointment of Lord Dalhousie.
82. Macpherson's letters from Calcutta.
83. Joseph Fawlk's letters.
84. Account of Bombay and autograph letters of Henry Gary, Governor of Bombay.
85. Letter of Col. W. Lambton about the conquest of Seringapatam, dated Madras, 22nd March 1800.
86. English letter signed in Marathi by Janardan Shivram, Peshwa's Vakil to Lord Macartney at Madras.
87. Four interesting Sanads and certificates from Madras—Macartney Collection.
88. A proposal for the establishment of a police force for the better government and regulation of the town of Madras. 1780-81.
89. Letter from the East India Company to the Raja of Tanjore, dated 18th October 1780.
90. Letter from the Nawab of Carnatic written to King George III on gold paper.

PERSIAN LETTERS.

91. A Sanad from the Bahamani King of Bedar with six seals.
92. Four original sanads from the King of Bijapur to Raja Shahaji, father of Sivaji.

TIBETAN LETTERS.

93. A letter from Teshoo Lama with translation received on 18th June 1739.

From Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis—*concl.*

MARATHI LETTERS.

- 94. Letter of Sir John Malcolm to the Raja of Satara dated 11th June 1829.
- 95. Letter of Lord Clare to the Raja of Satara, 1831.
- 96. Letter of General Archibald Robertson to the Raja of Satara.
- 97. Letter of Capt. Jervis to the Raja of Satara.
- 98. Letter of Sir George Arthur to the Raja of Satara.
- 99. Letter of Sir James Rivett Carnac to the Raja of Satara.
- 100. An interesting proclamation of the Government of India to the native princes of India about capturing the sandal-wood doors of the famous temple of Somanath.
- 101. Letter from the leading citizens of Bombay expressing thanks to the Raja of Satara for his liberal support and help towards the memorial of Mountstuart Elphinstone—Governor of Bombay, 1827.
- 102. Original Treaty with the Raja of Satara, dated 25th September 1819.

From 1. The Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona. 2. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, M.L.C. and 3. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., Persian Manuscripts.

- 103. Persian, Arabic and English Dictionary.
Printed in London in 1767 A. D.

- 104. Akbarnama. 1142 H.
- 105. Akhalki Muhsini. 1166 H.
- 106. Karastani Munir.
- 107. Inshai Kishanrao.
- 108. Mirati Shikandari. 1023 H.
- 109. Sharhe Chotaranga.
- 110. Khani Niyamat.
- 111. Insha.
- 112. Insha-e-Kamarup.
- 113. Tarikh-e-Badayuni.
- 114. Insha-e-Madhavram.
- 115. Gazaliyat.
- 116. Hazar-Risale Tasanif Mir Sultan Ali.
- 117. Panjsura.
- 118. Bayazi Gazal.

From 1. The Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona. 2. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, M. L. C., and 3. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., Persian Manuscripts—*contd.*

119. Brahmakarma.
120. Sursagar.
121. Sair-ul-Mulk.
122. Khulasat-ul-Makulat-ul-Mashrubat.
123. Shri Bhagwat.
124. Tulinama Farsi.
125. Tarikh.
126. Tawarikh-i-Farishta.
127. Naubahar.
128. Dewan-i-Mirza Jalal.
129. Nauratan Farsi.
130. Abul Fazal Daftar Awal.
131. Abul Fazal Daftar Awal.
132. Sir-ul-Arifin.
133. Tarikh-e-Hind.
134. Kushayash Nama.
135. Masnavi Mir Hasan.
136. Tarikh-e-Sind.
137. Arzadashti Abul Fazal.
138. Lub-ut-Tawarikh.
139. Gazaliyat.
140. Tabab-e-Muntakhab-ul-Taba (sic.)
141. Hindustani.
142. Risala-i Mujiza.
143. Gulzar-e-Hal. (Prabodha Chandrodaya.)
144. Shrimat Bhagwat.
145. Jahangir-Nama.
146. Work on Astrology.
147. Outline—Fort Shriverdhengad.
148. Outline—Fort Sajangad of Ramdas.
149. Old Map of India.
150. Gita of Nivritti—Marathi.

From 1. The Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona. 2. Sardar G. N. Majumdar, M.L.C., and 3. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A.—contd.

- 151. Oldest Modi letters.
- 152. MSS.—Mailarpuja Sanskrit.
- 153. Bhaimsen Bhatupatha.
- 154. Le 'Toil' du Sud.
- 155. Handwriting of Tukaram.
- 156. Official letter of Jijabai, Shivaji's mother.
- 157. Account of the Nawab of Arcot—Modi Marathi.
- 158. Account of Panipat.
- 159. Samsutra.
- 160. Copper plate grant of Prabhavati Gupta.
- 161. Letter from Rustam Jeman.
- 162. Bijapur Farman—grant to Moraya Deo of Chinchwad—1570 shaka.
- 163. Old map of Shanwar Wada.

MSS.

- 164. Ramala by Kashmiracharya, in Hindi.
- 165. Mahabharata Karnaparva by Gopal Anant (Marathi).
- 166. Viveka Sindhu by Mukundaraja, Shaka 1496.
- 167. Mahabharata Bhishmaparva by Vishnudas Nama.
- 168. Mahabharata Dronaparva by Vishnudas Nama.
- 169. Sanshaya Ratnavali by Moropant, in his own handwriting.
- 170. Mahabharata Tika by Vimalbodha (Sanskrit).
- 171. Bhoja Vyakarna (Sanskrit).
- 172. Abhanga Bad.
- 173. Abhanga Bad.
- 174. Srimat Bhagwata (in Modi).
- 175. Seal of the Governor of Bombay.
- 176. Seal of the Governor of Bombay.
- 177. Letter from the Governor of Bombay to the Peshwa.
- 178. Letter from the Governor of Bombay to the Peshwa.
- 179. Letter from Warren Hastings to Nana Fadnavis.
- 180. Letter from Warren Hastings to Nana Fadnavis.

From 1. The Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona. 2. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, M.L.C., and 3. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A.—*contd.*

181. Letter from Nizam to Nana Fadnavis.
182. Letter from Shuja-ul-mulk to the Peshwa.
183. Letter from Sir John Shore, Governor General to the Peshwa.
184. Letter from Sir Charles Malet to the Peshwa.
185. Letter from Col. Charles Morgan to Nana Fadnavis.
186. Handwriting of Balaji Vishwanath, the 1st Peshwa.
187. Handwriting of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa.
188. Handwriting of Madhavrao Ballal Peshwa.
189. Handwriting of Narayan Ballal Peshwa.
190. Handwriting of Sadashivrao Bhau.
191. Modi letter, Shaka 1429.
192. Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Peshwa.
193. Letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Peshwa.
194. Letter from John Macpherson to Nana Fadnavis.
195. Letter from John Macpherson to Nana Fadnavis.
196. Letter from J. Upton to Nana Fadnavis.
197. Letter from John Bristo to the Peshwa.
198. Letter from Daniel Setone to the Peshwa.
199. Seal of Col. Charles Morgan.
200. Seal of Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jaha.
201. Seal of Syed Nuruddin Husain Khan.
202. Seal of Sir Charles Malet.
203. Seal of Col. John Upton.
204. Seal of William Tailor.
205. Seal of the Governor of Bunder Chinapattan.
206. Seal of John Macpherson, Governor General.
207. Seal of Lord Cornwallis, Governor General.
208. Sanad from Shahaji Raje. (Marathi.)
209. Sanad from Shahaji Raje. (Marathi.)
210. Sanad from Shri Sivaji Chatrapati. (Marathi.)
211. Sanad from Shri Sivaji Chatrapati. (Marathi.)
212. Sanad from Shri Sivaji Chatrapati. (Marathi.)

From 1. The Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona. 2. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, M.L.C., and 3. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A.—*contd.*

213. Sanad from Shri Sivaji Chatrapati. (Marathi.)
214. Letter from Jijabai to Hiroji Naik. (Marathi.)
215. Sanad in Shaka 1562. (Marathi.)
216. Sanad in 1742 A. D. (Marathi.)
217. Sanad from Haibat Khan. (Marathi.)
218. Sanad from Ragho Ballal Atre. (Marathi.)
219. Letter from Sambhaji Raje to Krishnaji Kashi. (Marathi.)
220. Vatan Patra by Sambhaji Raje. (Marathi.)
221. Sanad from Rajaram Chatrapati. (Marathi.)
222. Sanad from Shahu Chatrapati. (Marathi.)
223. Letter from Jijabai to Hiroji Naik. (Marathi.)
224. Order from Siddi Umbar, Bagdad.
225. Order from Khan Kazi Syed Saheb. (Marathi.)
226. Order from Balaji Vishwanath Sanakarte (Peshwa). (Marathi.)
227. Letter from Jijabai to Hiroji Naik. (Marathi.)
228. Sanad of Mukhatyari to the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao from the Emperor of Delhi. (Persian.)
229. Akhabar Maharaja Patel Bahadur. (Persian.)
230. Dagh Nama. (Persian.)
231. Farman from Bijapur King. (Persian.)
232. Farman from Bijapur King. (Persian.)
233. Farman from Bijapur King. (Persian.)
234. Farman from Bijapur King. (Persian.)
235. Farman from the Emperor of Delhi. (Persian.)
236. Photo of a farman from the Emperor of Delhi. (Persian.)
237. Photographs of seals and sign manuals. (Persian.)
238. Copper plate in Persian and Kanarese.

PICTURES.

239. Pilajirao Jadhav riding.
240. Night hunting.

From 1. The Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona. 2. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, M.L.C., and 3. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A.—*contd.*

- 241. Kalavantin.
- 242. Pilajirao Jadhav sitting.
- 243. Saraswati Mahal.
- 244. Satwajirao Jadhav.
- 245. Paricharika.
- 246. Mir Abul Kasim.
- 247. Sheshashai.
- 248. Deer hunting by tiger.
- 249. Saraswati Mahal—Vedanta Daftar.
- 250. European Lady.
- 251. Turkish Lady.
- 252. Aurangzeb.
- 253. Travelling Camp.
- 254. Shankar Parvati.
- 255. European Lady.
- 256. A Rajput Lady.
- 257. A Rajput Lady.
- 258. A Rajput Lady.
- 259. Female Singer.
- 260. Shivalinga Pujana.
- 261. Rajput Lady.
- 262. Goanese Ladies.
- 263. Embroidery works.
- 264. Maharaja.
- 265. Haripant Phadke, Mahadji Shinde & Madhavrao Peshwa.
- 266. Toilet.
- 267. Dance.
- 268. Holi.
- 269. Holi.
- 270. Goanese couple.
- 271. Gymnasts.
- 272. A lady hunting.

From 1. The Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona. 2. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, M.L.C., and 3. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A.—concl.

- 273. A lady.
- 274. Jahangir riding.
- 275. Yadva's fighting.
- 276. Shri Krishna in Gokul.
- 277. Ladies bathing.
- 278. Lady washing.
- 279. Sparrow.
- 280. Ram.
- 281. Shri Ganapati.
- 282. Motha Raja.
- 283. Shankar and Nandi.
- 284. Rajput Lady.

From Mr. N. V. Phadke (Indore).

285. Yeshwantrao Holkar's letter written immediately after the battle of Poona, October 1802.

It describes:—

- (1) how the Peshwa's attitude led to the battle, and
- (2) how the battle was won by Yeshwantrao Holkar by his sheer dash and personal bravery.

286. Letter from Devi Shree Ahilyabai Holkar's Vakil at Ayodhya to her, about August 1782.

The points mentioned are:—

- (i) Misunderstanding between the Nawab and the Begums of Oudh and mismanagement there;
- (ii) Predominance of the British at the court of Oudh;
- (iii) The offer of two crores of rupees and territory by the British authorities in Madras to Hydar Ali to make peace with him;
- (iv) Instructions from Hastings to Colonel Goddard to make peace with the Peshwa;
- (v) Offer of large sums to the Bhonsla of Nagpur by the British to make peace with him;

From Mr. N. V. Phadke (Indore)—*contd.*

- (vi) Factions at the court of Delhi; and
- (vii) Permission secured from the British for the construction of the Holkar's institution at Naimisharanya (near Ayodhya).

From Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., Poona.

- 287. Charles Wilkins. Translation of Bhagavadgita, 1785 A. D.
- 288. History of the Old and New Testaments illustrated with copious engravings, dedicated to the King and Queen of England, 1690 A. D.

From the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

- 289. No. 817 of 1875-76. Tarikha-i-Kasmir.
- 290. No. 176 of 1875-76. Rajatarangini.
- 291. No. 816 of 1875-76. Translation of Upanishads.
- 292. No. 61 of 1907-15. Bhagavatam.
- 293. No. 113 of 1884-87. Virataparva.
- 294. No. 420 of 1871-72. Map of India, and the World.
- 295. No. 4 of Vis I. Rigveda-samhita-Bhasya.
- 296. No. 55 of 1871-72. Panchatantra by Vishnusarma.
- 297. No. 145 of 1875-76. Panchatantra by Vishnusarma.
- 298. No. 4 of 1881-82. Uttaradhyayana.
- 299. No. 2 of 1880-81. Uttaradhyayana-Sutra.
- 300. No. 88 of 1907-15. Prakrit-manidipa.
- 301. No. 30 of 1907-15. Prakrit-vyakarna.
- 302. No. 60 of 1880-81. Sabda-siddhi.
- 303. No. 5 of 1875-76. Rigveda-samhita.
- 304. No. 192 of 1875-76. Sakuntala.
- 305. No. 150 of 1875-76. Prithvirajavijaya.
- 306. No. 112 of 1875-76. Kathasarit-sagara.

From the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona—*contd.*

- 307. No. 1502 of 1887-91. Planispheric astrolabe.
- 308. No. 1501 of 1887-91. A copper plate Inscription.

From Nawabzada Syed Murtaza Ali Khan, Great-grandson of Nawab Munir-ud-dowla Raza Kuli Khan Bahadur Nadir Jung, Minister of Shah Alam II (Patna).

- 309. ALTAMGHA—for the parganna of Khaira Garah in the Province of Allahabad granted by Shah Alam II Emperor of Delhi in the eighth year of his reign to Nawab Munir-ud-dowlah Syed Raza Kuli Khan Bahadur Nadirjang, his trusted Minister. The parganna consisted of 50 lacs of dams (a unit *i.e.* one cubic hand) and had an annual income of one lac twenty-two thousand and five hundred rupees.

The grant was in perpetuity.

- 310. BAZU TO AN ALTAMGHA: an auxiliary document issued by the office of the Prime Minister of Shah Alam II regarding ALTAMGHA granted by the Emperor in the 6th year of his reign, for pargannas Arwal, Biswak, Bhimpur, Shajahanpur, and Bal in the Province of Behar to Nawab Munir-ud-dowlah Syed Raza Kuli Khan Bahadur Nadirjang. The parganna consisted of eighty-seven lacs twenty-seven thousand one hundred and ninety-seven dams (a unit *i.e.* one cubic hand) and had an annual income of rupees one lac and twenty-five thousand. On the reverse of the document is written in English:

“ This document was issued in the 7th year of Shah Alam’s reign and subsequently was registered by the British Government in the year 1800 A. D. at 3 P.M. on March 11th.”

- 311. A Persian document issued by the order of Emperor Shah Alam II in the 9th year of his reign, conferring the title of BHADARI and MANSAB of four thousand Infantry and three thousand Cavalry on Nawab Abbas Kuli Khan, one of the sons of Nawab Munir-ud-dowlah Raza Kuli Khan Bahadur Nadirjang.

From His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

PAINTINGS.

- 312. Sir Charles Malet, Ambassador at the Court of Poona, attended by his suite, delivering to His Highness the Peshwa, in full Durbar, the treaty of alliance; ratified by His Majesty, between Great Britain and His Highness, made preparatory to the war between the triple allied power and Tippoo in 1790.

From His Excellency the Governor of Bombay—*contd.*

313. The Maratha Empire 1793 containing the paintings of

NANA FARNAVIS

MAHADJI SINDIA

MINISTER

1769-1794.

1763-1800.

MADHAV RAO

PESHWA.

1774-1795.

The following description is given below the painting:—

“ The painter of this group of three Marathi statesmen seems to have been Mr. James Wales, a Scottish Artist from Aberdeen who came to India in 1791. Before leaving England Mr. Wales had exhibited portraits in the Academy. In India he was chiefly engaged in copying the details of the cave temples of Kondivita, Elephanta, and Kanheri in Salsette, as well as the sea-sight sculpture on the standing stones at Borivali about 10 miles north of Bandra. Mr. Wales also made the sketches from which Mr. Daniel, who was in India from 1783 to 1793, printed his fine picture now in England in the possession of Sir Edward Malet, of the ratification in the Poona Durbar of the Treaty of Alliance between the Peshwa and the Honourable the East India Company in 1790. Mr. Wales caught fever sketching at Kanheri and died at Thana on the 13th November 1795 aged 48 years, as is noted in a monumental tablet in the Bombay Cathedral. His eldest daughter who came to India with her father, married Sir Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona. The group of the Peshwa, Nana, and Sindia must have been painted between 11th June 1792 when Sindia came to Poona and 12th February 1794 when he died. The picture was considerably touched up about 1865 by a Mr. Lewis, a brother of Royal Academician of that name.”

From Mr. J. F. Gennings (Director of Information, Bombay).

314. The Surat Factory outward letters, Vol. 1630.
315. A typewritten copy of the same volume received from the India Office.
316. The Surat Factory outward letter book, 1675-1676, the letters in which
are signed by Angir.

From H. O. Abdur Rahman (Poona City).

PORTRAIT.

517. The presentations of Medals and Clasps to the Bombay Fusiliers at Poona, 1852, by Miss Mignan.

From Western India Club, Poona.

PAINTINGS.

318. Poona 1809. Presented to Western India Club by Col. L. W. Shakespear, A. Q. M. G.

319. The Battle of Kirkee.

Fought on the 5th November 1817 on which memorable occasion 4,785 British Troops (European 785 and Native 4,000) under the command of Lt.-Col. Charles Barton Barr of the Bombay Establishment defeated the Mahratta Army supposed to have amounted to 15,000 Horse and 900 Infantry. From an original Picture painted from a drawing by Major Sutherland in the possession of Francis Warden, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay. Dedicated to the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay.

F. C. LEWIS, SCULPTOR.

From the Archives of French India, Pondicherry.

Diplomatic Documents (in Mahratta Original Manuscripts).

320. Orders given by *Nizam el Mulukhan Bahadur*, to the Proprietors, Judges, clerks, of *Masulipatam Rajamandri* and *Singar Kovil* about the cloth trade.

[1725, 31 May.]

321. *Parwana* from *Chanda Sahib* to *Nazirkhan* his deputy general officer of *Karikal* about the handing over to the French *Karikal* and its dependencies.

[1739, 15 February.]

322. *Letter* from the Raja of *Tanjore* to M. Dumas Governor of Pondicherry about *Karikal*.

[1739, 20 April.]

From the Archives of French India, Pondicherry—contd.

323. *Ordinance of Coyaji Raja Gatique* sent by order of the Raja of Tanjore, to *Queizerwa Cassy Subedar of Mayavaram* to recognize all persons under his orders, to be the subjects of the French and the French as Masters and Proprietors of *Karikal* and its dependencies.
 [20 April.]

324. *Sale deed of Fortress of Carkandery, Karikal* and its five aldees, sent to *M. Dumas Governor*, by the Raja of *Tanjore*.
 [20 April.]

325. *Parwana* from *Chanda Sahib*, to *M. Dumas Governor*, about the handing over of the two aldees of *Karikal*.
 [20 April.]

326. *Order* from *Chanda Sahib* to *Gopal Narayan*, for the delivery of *Narary* and *Conde*.
 [29 June.]

327. *Letter* from the Raja of Tanjore, to the Governor of Pondicherry about the presents of 2,000 *pagodas*.
 [18 July.]

328. *Letter* from *Coyaji Raja Gatique* uncle of the Tanjore Raja to *M. Dumas* about the same subject.
 [18 July.]

329. *Order* from *Oussane Naviskhan* to *Sheik Meran Khan Rout* amaldar of *Mayavaram* concerning the donation of the two villages *Narary* and *Conde*.
 [29 July.]

330. *Letter* from Raja *Pratabsing* of Tanjore to *M. Dumas* the Governor, asking him for a loan of 100,000 *chakras*.
 [30 July.]

331. *Recognition* from Raja *Pratabsing* of Tanjore about the Mortgage of eight villages for the loan of 240,000 *chakras*.
 [16 September.]

332. *Recognition* from the Raja of Tanjore about the Mortgage of 33 villages of *Tirumalrayan Maganam* for the sum of 60,000 *chakras*.
 [29 October.]

333. *Order* from Raja *Pratabsing* of Tanjore to the Amaldar of the lands of *Karikal* about the mortgage of eight villages to *M. Dumas Governor* of Pondicherry.
 [2 November.]

From the Archives of French India, Pondicherry—contd.

334. Letter from the Raja of Tanjore to *M. Dumas* the Governor about the receipt of 40,000 chakras.
 [1739, 2 November.]

335. *Parwana* from Maharaja *Pratabsing* of Tanjore for the village of *Kuttalam*.
 [1740, 5 January.]

336. *Dastok* sent from *Makkaji Naik Swamy Ramsy* on behalf of the king of Tanjore to *Venkaji Rugunath* for freedom from customs duty.
 [10 January.]

337. *Recognition* from the Raja of Tanjore of the sale made to *M. Dumas* Governor of Pondicherry of the eight villages of *Karikal*.
 [12 January.]

338. Letter from *Coyaji Rajgatique* to the Governor on the promises of *Malaki Sahib* about the Reascending on the ancient throne of the Raja of *Kadapah*.
 [12 January.]

339. *Passport* from *Syed Muhamed Khan* officer of *Nawab Subdarali Khan* to all amaldars and customs officers of (joncaniers) *Shiali*.
 [27 January.]

340. *Order* from *Syed Muhamad* officer of the *Nawab Subdarali Khan* to his amaldar *Manik Pantulu* relating to the handing over to the French of the eight villages of *Karikal*.
 [1741, 29 February.]

341. *Parwana* from *Nawab Subdarali Khan* to *Syed Muhamed* about the 8 villages mortgaged for 40,000 chakras.
 [7 March.]

342. *Dastak* given by the Raja of Tanjore for freedom from duty in his hands.
 [30 March.]

343. *Dastak* given for the free passage of Palanquins and horses.
 [30 March.]

344. *Dastak* from *Namasivaya Pillay* Subedar of *Tiruvenkadu* to certain officers not to exact taxes from persons going from *Karikal* to Pondicherry.
 [15 June.]

345. Receipt for 20,000 chakras paid to the Raja of Tanjore for the 8 villages purchased from him.
 [29 August.]

From the Archives of French India, Pondicherry—contd.

346. Receipt for 60,000 chakras for Ambal, Tirukuvakam and Tirundallae Maganam.
 [29 August.]

347. Several receipts from the Raja of Tanjore.
 [1771.]

348. Letter from Baisaib Havaldar, to Sreenivas asking him about the horse stolen from the Vajiador of Grande aldee (Tirumalrayanpatnam.).

NOTARIAL ACTS.

349. M. Monneron depositing act for the sieur Dupleix. Several receipts in the Mahrathi language.
 [1767, 24 November.]

350. Ramalingam Pillay ancient Farmer of the Compagnies Indes depositing an act written by Norenha in the Mahrathi language.
 [1773, 22 October.]

POONA.

351. Copy of the declaration made by the men of equipage on board the ship *Le Sartine* relating to the arrival of Monseigneur le Chevalier de St. Lubain, ambassador of France in the Maharata court.
 [1777 June.]

352. Cahier (memorial) of Correspondence between M. de Montigny and M. Piveron from 28th December 1781 to 20th February 1782.
 [1781, 28 December.]

353. List of French officers, mariners, soldiers and sailors made prisoners, transported to Bombay from where they had deserted to implore protection from De Montigny under the French Flag at Poona.
 [1782.]

354. Copy of a letter from M. Montigny.
 [9 May.]

355. Liberal translation of the arrangement proposed by Seri Monti Raj Serri Madirana Nar Ramic Pant Pradan, to Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre.
 [15 June.]

356. Letter from M. Montigny French Colonel, to general Duchemin about the arrangements settled with the French nation by the court of Poona.

From the Archives of French India, Pond'cherry—contd.

357. Letter from *M. Montigny* to commander *De Suffren* settling all the questions concerning the Maharata court.

358. Letter from *M. Montigny* to *M. de Cossigny* relating to the arrival of *M. Gaudart* in Poona.

359. Copy of the letter from the General.

360. Letter from *M. Montigny* to *M. Aumont* acknowledging receipt of a letter of the Marquis de Bussy about the arrival of *Ile de France*.

[6 September.]

361. Letter from *M. Montigny* about the arrival of our fleet.

362. Copy of a letter from *M. Montigny* to the *Chevalier Laine*.

[6 November.]

363. Copy of a letter from *M. Montigny* about the peace with all the powers of Deccan.

[1783, 21 May.]

364. Copy of the letter from *M. Montigny* to *M. de Coutenceau* about the details of Dhelli Revolution.

[1785, 14 March.]

365. Copy of an anonymous document addressed to the *Vicount de Souillae* relating to his mission to different courts of India.

[29 July.]

366. Letter from *M. Montigny* to *M. de Cossigny* about the efforts of *M. Nana Farnavis* to conciliate all Mahrata Chiefs.

[19 September.]

367. Letter from *M. Montigny* to *M. Moracin*, acknowledging receipt of a particular letter.

[1786, 8 January.]

368. Double copies of a letter from *de Moracin* to *M. de Montigny* at Poona about the Settlement of accounts.

[1 December.]

369. Triple copies of a letter from *M. Montigny* to *M. de Cossigny* at Poona announcing that *Tipu Sultan* had dispatched a *vakil* to *Tukoje Nolcar* to propose to that chief the terms for the peace arrangements.

[1787, 15 April.]

370. Copy of a letter announcing that the Men-of-War of the station did not appear in the *Malabar Coast*.

[1788, 2 May.]

From the Archives of French India, Pondicherry—concl'd.

371. Double copies of the letter from *M. de Montigny* to *M. Camaranoud* relating to the decision of the Regency for the expedition to *Goa* of the ship *L. Adelaidé*.
[1788, 2 May.]

372. Copy of the letter from *M. de Montigny* to the *Counte de Conway* relating to the expedition of *alkara* to Pondicherry and the new difficulties raised by the Durbar in the affair of *L. Adelaidé*.
[11 May.]

373. Letter from *M. de Eran Dwil Monblain* acknowledging receipt of a letter about the report to the *Marquis de Bussy*.